

## SENATE

WEDNESDAY, MAY 7, 1958

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, with whom there is no shadow that is caused by turning, conscious that in the rough and rushing world there is upon us constantly the hot breath of malice and envy, of evil tempers and misunderstandings, in this quiet moment of devotion breathe on us, breath of God, fanning to flame our smoldering faith, that the dross which weights the wings of our spirits may be consumed. As those in whose unworthy hands have been placed the crying needs of stricken humanity, give us wisdom, give us vision, for the living of these days. May the thoughts of our minds and the sympathies of our hearts, the words of our lips and the decisions of our deliberations, be acceptable in Thy sight, O Lord, our strength and our Redeemer. Amen.

## THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. JOHNSON of Texas, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, May 6, 1958, was dispensed with.

## MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States submitting nominations were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries.

## EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session,

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees. (For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

## MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 67) favoring the suspension of deportation in the cases of certain aliens, with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H. R. 1331. An act for the relief of Sadie Lobe;  
H. R. 1393. An act for the relief of Mrs. Willie Soher;  
H. R. 1493. An act for the relief of Lt. Col. Charles A. Holshouser;  
H. R. 2338. An act for the relief of the Security Feed & Seed Co.;  
H. R. 2677. An act for the relief of former S. Sgt. Edward R. Stouffer;

H. R. 2934. An act for the relief of Tomas Clemente Gonzalez;

H. R. 4044. An act for the relief of Mirko J. Pitner;

H. R. 4056. An act for the relief of the estate of Katharine Flower Runyan, deceased;  
H. R. 4985. An act for the relief of Cesar Garcia;

H. R. 5084. An act for the relief of Maria Alma Dizon;

H. R. 5584. An act for the relief of Mrs. Maude L. Smith;

H. R. 5922. An act for the relief of William Lavallo;

H. R. 6405. An act for the relief of Arnie W. Lohman;

H. R. 7058. An act for the relief of Frank L. and Evelyn M. Bussmann;

H. R. 7729. An act for the relief of August Widmer;

H. R. 7752. An act for the relief of Wintford Jesse Thompson;

H. R. 7987. An act for the relief of Maria Giannalia;

H. R. 8046. An act for the relief of Joaquin A. Bazan;

H. R. 8231. An act for the relief of certain employees of the Department of the Navy at the United States Naval Gun Factory, Washington, D. C.;

H. R. 8831. An act for the relief of Joseph R. Burger;

H. R. 8833. An act for the relief of S. A. Romine;

H. R. 8842. An act to quitclaim interest of the United States to certain land in Smith County, Miss., and to terminate restrictions against alienation thereon;

H. R. 8875. An act for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. George Holden;

H. R. 9181. An act for the relief of Herbert H. Howell;

H. R. 9608. An act for the relief of Dorman William Whitton;

H. R. 9881. An act for the relief of Mitsuo Arita;

H. R. 10035. An act for the relief of Federico Luss; and

H. R. 12009. An act to amend Public Law 85-162 to increase the authorization for appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission in accordance with section 261 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes.

## ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

The message further announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills and joint resolution, and they were signed by the President pro tempore:

S. 1062. An act for the relief of Maud Claer Wahl;

S. 1578. An act for the relief of Hovhannes H. Haldostian;

S. 1943. An act for the relief of Norma Josephine Hodges Dowd;

S. 2166. An act for the relief of John J. Griffin;

S. 3050. An act to increase the equipment maintenance allowance for rural carriers, and for other purposes;

S. J. Res. 168. Joint resolution authorizing the President to issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to commemorate with appropriate ceremonies the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of the State of Minnesota into the Union;

H. R. 2151. An act to provide for the temporary suspension of the import duties on certain coarse wool, and to provide additional time for the Tariff Commission to review the customs tariff schedules;

H. R. 8544. An act to provide for the restoration to tribal ownership of all vacant and

undisposed-of ceded lands on certain Indian reservations, and for other purposes; and  
H. R. 11019. An act to permit articles imported from foreign countries for the purpose of exhibition at the Kentucky State Fair, to be held at Louisville, Ky., and the International Trade Exhibition, to be held at St. Paul, Minn., to be admitted without payment of tariff, and for other purposes.

## HOUSE BILLS REFERRED

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred as indicated:

H. R. 1331. An act for the relief of Sadie Lobe;

H. R. 1393. An act for the relief of Mrs. Willie Soher;

H. R. 1493. An act for the relief of Lt. Col. Charles A. Holshouser;

H. R. 2338. An act for the relief of the Security Feed & Seed Co.;

H. R. 2677. An act for the relief of former S. Sgt. Edward R. Stouffer;

H. R. 2934. An act for the relief of Tomas Clemente Gonzalez;

H. R. 4044. An act for the relief of Mirko J. Pitner;

H. R. 4056. An act for the relief of the estate of Katharine Flower Runyan, deceased;  
H. R. 4985. An act for the relief of Cesar Garcia;

H. R. 5084. An act for the relief of Maria Alma Dizon;

H. R. 5584. An act for the relief of Mrs. Maude L. Smith;

H. R. 5922. An act for the relief of William Lavallo;

H. R. 6405. An act for the relief of Arnie W. Lohman;

H. R. 7058. An act for the relief of Frank L. and Evelyn M. Bussmann;

H. R. 7729. An act for the relief of August Widmer;

H. R. 7752. An act for the relief of Wintford Jesse Thompson;

H. R. 7987. An act for the relief of Maria Giannalia;

H. R. 8046. An act for the relief of Joaquin A. Bazan;

H. R. 8231. An act for the relief of certain employees of the Department of the Navy at the United States Naval Gun Factory, Washington, D. C.;

H. R. 8831. An act for the relief of Joseph R. Burger;

H. R. 8833. An act for the relief of S. A. Romine;

H. R. 8875. An act for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. George Holden;

H. R. 9181. An act for the relief of Herbert H. Howell;

H. R. 9608. An act for the relief of Dorman William Whitton;

H. R. 9881. An act for the relief of Mitsuo Arita;

H. R. 10035. An act for the relief of Federico Luss; to the Committee on the Judiciary; and

H. R. 8842. An act to quitclaim interest of the United States to certain land in Smith County, Miss., and to terminate restrictions against alienation thereon; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

## LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may be excused from attendance on the sessions of the Senate for the remainder of the week and on Monday of next week, to attend the centennial celebrations which will take place in Minnesota. We will be fortunate in having some distinguished guests from several foreign countries attend the celebrations, including visitors

from Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Iceland, who will be the guests of Minnesota during the centennial weekend.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, leave is granted.

#### COMMITTEE MEETING DURING SENATE SESSION

On request of Mr. JOHNSON of Texas, and by unanimous consent, the Labor Subcommittee of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare was authorized to meet today during the session of the Senate.

#### LIMITATION OF DEBATE DURING MORNING HOUR

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, under the rule, there will be the usual morning hour; and I ask unanimous consent that statements be limited to 3 minutes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

##### REPORT ON OVEROBLIGATION OF AN APPROPRIATION

A letter from the Administrative Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, reporting, pursuant to law, on the overobligation of an appropriation in that Department; to the Committee on Appropriations.

##### TRAINING OF CERTAIN UNITS OF THE ARMED FORCES

A letter from the Deputy Secretary of Defense, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to provide additional facilities necessary for the administration and training of units of the Reserve Components of the Armed Forces of the United States (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Armed Services.

##### PROPOSED SOUTHWEST FREEWAY AND REDEVELOPMENT OF SOUTHWEST AREA, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

A letter from the President, Board of Commissioners, Washington, D. C., transmitting a draft of proposed legislation providing that the Commissioners of the District of Columbia be authorized to use squares 354 and 355 in the District of Columbia and certain water frontage on the Washington Channel of the Potomac River for the proposed Southwest Freeway and for the redevelopment of the Southwest area in the District of Columbia (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

##### FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF THE AMERICAN LEGION

A letter from the Director, The American Legion, Washington, D. C., transmitting, pursuant to law, a financial statement of that organization, as of December 31, 1957 (with an accompanying statement); to the Committee on Finance.

##### REPORT PRIOR TO RESTORATION OF BALANCES, BUREAU OF MINES

A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report prior to restoration of balances, Bureau of Mines, as of March 31, 1958 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

##### REPORT ON REVIEW OF ACTIVITIES OF ARMY SIGNAL SUPPLY AGENCY

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to

law, a report on review of activities of the United States Army Signal Supply Agency, Department of the Army, dated May 1958 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

##### TEMPORARY ADMISSION INTO THE UNITED STATES OF CERTAIN ALIENS

A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, transmitting, pursuant to law, copies of orders entered granting temporary admission into the United States of certain aliens (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

##### FINANCIAL REPORT OF AMERICAN SOCIETY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

A letter from the executive secretary, the American Society of International Law, Washington, D. C., transmitting, pursuant to law, a financial report of that society, covering the year ended December 31, 1957 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

#### PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

Petitions, etc., were laid before the Senate, or presented, and referred as indicated:

By the PRESIDENT pro tempore:

A resolution of the Senate of the State of Maryland; to the Committee on Armed Services:

##### "Senate Resolution 2

"Resolution protesting the denial of four freighter contracts to the Bethlehem-Sparrows Point Shipbuilding Yard

"The members of the Senate of Maryland have watched with grave concern the recent action of the Federal Government in awarding four contracts for constructing freighters to yards which submitted bids millions of dollars higher than that of the Bethlehem-Sparrows Point Shipbuilding Yard.

"The issue arises from contracts for (1) and (2) 4 American Export Lines freighters, which were awarded to yards in San Diego, Calif., and Camden, N. J. (3) 2 Moore-McCormick Co. ships, which went to a yard in Los Angeles, Calif., and (4) 2 other ships, which went to a yard in Chester, Pa.

"The cost of constructing the four freighters in San Diego and Camden will aggregate some \$4 million more than if those contracts had been awarded to the Bethlehem-Sparrows Point yard.

"The action of the Federal Government was based upon Public Law 805, which has provisions by which the Federal Maritime Board and the Maritime Commission are to assure proper distribution of shipyard work, to protect the national interest. The law provides that with the approval of the President, shipbuilding contracts may be allocated to various areas of the country when it is deemed that such allocation will contribute to national defense, even if shipbuilding yards in these areas have not been the successful low bidders for the contract.

"On February 7, 1958, the President approved the awarding of the contracts to the yards in San Diego, Camden, Los Angeles, and Chester, presumably completing the Government's action on them.

"The Senate of Maryland deeply regrets this unfortunate excursion into false economics, under the specious guise of national interest. In common with most artificial tinkering with a competitive economy, it is vicious in its implications and if persisted in could be disastrous in its results.

"Four million dollars are needlessly and wastefully going down the drain. A small sum in current Federal financing, it yet comes from a Nation which is heavily taxed and which continues to go more deeply than ever into a public debt of staggering amount. We would not minimize the needs and problems of national defense and national security in pointing out that a healthy and sol-

vent economy is a necessary basis for this Nation's continued military strength. We could become a second-rate power as well by internal bankruptcy as by external force.

"The Bethlehem-Sparrows Point yard was low bidder by some \$4 million on these contracts. Passing over the irony of calling for competitive bids and then ignoring them, we note that the contracts were given to other yards 'to protect the national interest.' Yet in trying to assure that other shipyards will have the skills and facilities necessary for shipbuilding, the Government has deliberately slapped down the shipyard which, to judge from the bids submitted, is the most efficient of all.

"The San Diego yard has never constructed a ship as large as these freighters. Its principal work to date has been building tuna-fish boats. Now, for the doubtful advantage of creating facilities and skills which never existed at San Diego, the famous facilities and skills at Bethlehem-Sparrows Point yard are deliberately permitted to languish. Perhaps we will see the final irony of the highly trained personnel at Bethlehem-Sparrows Point moving to San Diego for continued employment.

"Still another element in the situation is beyond our understanding. The Federal Government's General Accounting Office has ruled Bethlehem's bid to be 'nonresponsive.' Perhaps that has some meaning to the General Accounting Office; our own comment is that the Baltimore shipyards were magnificently responsive when called to the unprecedented shipbuilding tasks of World War II.

"If confirmation were needed for our criticism, it could quickly be found in the reliable press reports that American Export Lines, for which the four freighters are intended, is not pleased with having its ships constructed in two shipyards and has called a meeting of its board of directors to consider the awarding of the contracts.

"The members of the Senate of Maryland represent in this State's General Assembly 2 1/4 million people who are devoted citizens of the United States but who cannot understand the processes of the administrative branch of the Federal Government in the award of these contracts: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate of Maryland, That this body seriously questions the standards and procedures leading to the award of shipbuilding contracts to firms bidding millions of dollars over the low bidder; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be instructed to send copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Congress of the United States, the Federal Maritime Board, the Maritime Administration, the General Accounting Office, the Bethlehem-Sparrows Point Shipbuilding Yard, the Maryland Port Authority, the Baltimore Association of Commerce and each member of the Maryland delegation in the Congress of the United States."

A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of Maryland; to the Committee on Public Works:

##### "House Joint Resolution 27

"House joint resolution requesting the Congress of the United States to authorize the Army Corps of Engineers to make a survey of the Patuxent River in regard to flood control

"Whereas the Patuxent River flows through Prince Georges County, Howard County and Anne Arundel County in the State of Maryland; and

"Whereas at the present time, there is inadequate flood control of the Patuxent River; and

"Whereas because of the inadequate flood control, the possible flooding of the Patuxent River constitutes a threat to the health and



welfare of the people living in these three counties; and

"Whereas, the General Assembly of Maryland believes it is desirable that the Army Corps of Engineers make a survey of this situation with the idea of proposing corrective measures: Now, therefore, be it

*"Resolved by the General Assembly of Maryland, That the Congress of the United States be requested to pass legislation authorizing the Army Corps of Engineers to make a survey of the Patuxent River in regard to flood control; and be it further*

*"Resolved That the Secretary of State be directed to send copies of this joint resolution, under the great seal of the State of Maryland to the President of the Senate, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Member of the Maryland delegation in the Congress of the United States."*

A resolution of the Senate of the State of California; to the Committee on Armed Services:

**"Senate Resolution 32**

**"Resolution relating to civil defense**

"Whereas there is before the Congress of the United States H. R. 7576 which establishes in part the Federal Government's responsibility in the matter of civil defense and contemplates funds for that purpose; and

"Whereas California has been the nationwide leader in developing an adequate civil defense and disaster program and the California civil defense program established in 1950 to operate during the period of world tension has been conceded to be the most advanced of any State and a model for all other programs including the Federal program; and

"Whereas the California program, recognizing that the duty of taking command in time of emergency would fall upon the Governor, provides for a civil defense staff within the Governor's office; and

"Whereas H. R. 7576 would require the staff of State civil defense agencies to be selected by the merit system; and

"Whereas the policy in California has always been to permit the Governor complete freedom in the selection of the personnel of his office, and further that the civil defense program is a temporary State function until such time as the Federal Government declares there is no longer a need or assumes its full responsibility for the conduct of such a program: Now, therefore, be it

*"Resolved by the Senate of the State of California, That the Congress be urged to approve H. R. 7576 as a step toward full recognition of its responsibilities for an adequate nationwide civil defense program with the proviso that nothing in the act shall preclude California from continuing to select its staff in the same manner which it has followed successfully since 1950, and that necessary amendments be made in H. R. 7576 to assure that California will not be disqualified from receiving Federal funds for civil defense by reason of an arbitrary provision which would make it impossible to operate the program within the governor's office; and be it further*

*"Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be instructed to send copies of this resolution to the California Congressional delegation, the members of the Senate Armed Forces Committee; and to the directors of the civil defense agencies of the several States.*

"I hereby certify that the above resolution was unanimously adopted by the Senate of the State of California at the 1958 budget session of the legislature.

*"J. A. BECK,*

*"Secretary of the Senate,  
State of California."*

The petition of Joy Mason, of Paintsville, Ky., favoring the enactment of legislation to provide flood-control works; to the Committee on Public Works.

A letter, in the nature of a petition, from Ellen B. West, a citizen of the State of Georgia, relating to the passage of House bill 358, to provide pensions for widows and former widows of veterans of the Spanish-American War; to the Committee on Finance.

**STRENGTH OF THE NATIONAL GUARD—RESOLUTION**

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I present for appropriate reference and ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a resolution of the King's County Chapter of the Catholic War Veterans, of Brooklyn, N. Y., seeking to maintain the strength of the National Guard.

There being no objection, the resolution was referred to the Committee on Armed Services, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

**"Resolution 32**

"Whereas the Department of the Army is proceeding with plans to reduce the Army National Guard strength by approximately 30 percent for the fiscal year 1959; and

"Whereas the House Armed Services Committee, following 2 weeks of hearings, unanimously adopted Resolution 1—which provides for maintaining the strength of the Guard for the fiscal year 1959 at the current 400,000, for sufficient funds for an input of 55,000 non-prior-service men into 6-month training, and directed that the revised troop basis for the Army National Guard be developed with the approval of the States and Territories; and

"Whereas the proposed reduction will require the discharge of 1,700 full-time employees of the Guard and the elimination of 5,000 officers and warrant officers, the great majority of them highly trained in military skills; and

"Whereas the loss of these officers constitutes a writeoff of a valuable national resource and military skills at a time when the Pentagon is pressing for an increase in pay to attract and retain such competent personnel; and

"Whereas the proposed reduction would effect a wholesale elimination of units who are a vital part of the Nation's trained reserve force, and a writeoff of millions of dollars invested over the years in the training of these units, and would adversely affect the security of our country, especially in these uncertain times, and

"Whereas the economy of the communities where National Guard units would be eliminated will be adversely affected: Now, be it therefore

*"Resolved, That the Kings County chapter, Catholic War Veterans go on record as opposed to reduction in the strength of the Army National Guard for the fiscal year 1959 and that the recommendations of the House Armed Services Committee—to maintain the strength of the Guard at 400,000 for the fiscal year 1959, to allow sufficient funds for the input of 55,000 non-prior-service men into 6-month training, and that any revised troop basis for the Army National Guard be developed with the approval of the States and Territories—be adhered to by the Department of the Army, and be it further*

*"Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the State and national departments of the Catholic War Veterans for concurrent action."*

The above resolution was unanimously adopted by the Kings County chapter, Catholic War Veterans at a regular county chapter meeting held at room 4, Boro Hall, Brooklyn, N. Y., on Friday evening, April 25, 1958, and is being forwarded for your information and guidance.

MARTIN J. O'REILLY, JR.,  
County Commander.

**LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE—  
RESOLUTION**

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD and appropriately referred, a resolution adopted by a Lithuanian rally, in New York, on February 23, 1958, seeking freedom for Lithuania, which today is enslaved by the Soviet Union.

There being no objection, the resolution was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

**RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE LITHUANIAN RALLY ON FEBRUARY 23, 1958**

We, Lithuanian-Americans of Greater New York, loyal citizens and residents of the United States, gathered on February 23 of this year of grace 1958 at Webster Hall in New York, to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the restoration of the independent Lithuanian State after prolonged foreign domination.

Reemphasizing the indissolubility of our ties with the Lithuanian people, at present in Soviet bondage;

Recalling with gratitude the beneficial effect of the principle of self-determination, proclaimed by President Woodrow Wilson at the end of World War I, on the restoration of Lithuanian independence and the valuable support given by the Government, and the people of the United States to the restored Lithuanian State;

Voicing once more their indignation at and their protest against the aggressive acts of the Government of the Soviet Union, perpetrated in connivance with the infamous dictator of the Third Reich, which resulted in the suppression of Lithuania's independence and freedom and in her subjugation to ruthless Soviet colonial exploitation;

Mindful of the suffering of the captive Lithuanian people in the homeland and, especially, martyrdom of hundreds of thousands of Lithuanians deported to Siberia;

Noting that the unflinching determination of the Lithuanian people to regain their independence and freedom is as firm as ever;

Pointing out that one of the main aims of the recent Soviet campaign of ballistic blackmail is the acquiescence of the West in the status quo in central and eastern Europe and thus another victory for the Soviet communism in its forward thrust toward world domination;

Commending the view expressed by President Eisenhower in his letter to Premier Bulganin dated January 12, 1958, that the problem of captive European nations was of international concern, since the powers of Grand Alliance of World War II assumed a responsibility in this respect, and that there were compelling reasons for the discussion and the settlement of the eastern European question in the interest of peace and justice;

**Resolve—**

1. To thank the United States Government for its firm, morally just, and politically realistic stand concerning the right of the Lithuanian people to exercise their sovereign rights as an independent state as well as for the continued diplomatic recognition of Lithuania's independence by the United States.

2. To appeal to the President and the Congress of the United States to firmly pursue and promote the policy expounded in the President's letter to Premier Bulganin by stepping up the search for peaceful means for the restoration of independence and freedom of Lithuania and of other captive countries through an immediate withdrawal of the Soviet armed forces and agents from their soil and creation of conditions enabling the Lithuanian and other subjugated peoples to choose by means of free and unfettered elections the government and the system under which they wish to live;

3. To rededicate ourselves to the noble goal of Lithuania's independence and freedom and to renew our efforts to combat Communist expansion and Soviet imperialism;

4. To support all efforts of the Government of the United States aiming at the establishment in Europe and elsewhere of a peace with freedom and justice where moral law prevails.

JOSEPH TYSLIJA,  
President, Lithuanian American  
Council of Greater New York.

#### NATIONAL ARBOR DAY— RESOLUTIONS

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD, and appropriately referred, a resolution of the board of supervisors of Rockland County, N. Y., calling attention to the need for National Arbor Day.

There being no objection, the resolution was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

##### Resolution 193

At a meeting of the Rockland County Board of Supervisors held in its chambers at the courthouse in New City, Rockland County, N. Y., on April 22, 1958, the following resolution was adopted:

"Whereas the New York State Committee for National Arbor Day has requested the board of supervisors of Rockland County to support legislation for a uniformly observed National Arbor Day on the last Friday in April; and

"Whereas this board does wholeheartedly concur in this request: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That this board does hereby authorize and direct the clerk to communicate with President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Gov. Averell Harriman, and our representatives in Washington and Albany, urging that they support legislation fixing the last day in April as National Arbor Day."

I, Victor J. Mariani, clerk to the board of supervisors, of Rockland County, do hereby certify the foregoing to be a true copy of Resolution 193 adopted by said board of supervisors on the 22d day of April in the year 1958.

Witness my hand and official seal of said board of supervisors this 28th day of April 1958.

[SEAL] VICTOR J. MARIANI,  
Clerk, Rockland County Board of  
Supervisors.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD, and appropriately referred, a resolution of the Board of Supervisors of Suffolk County, N. Y., calling attention to the need for National Arbor Day.

There being no objection, the resolution was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolution requesting legislation on both the National and State level setting aside the last Friday in April of each year to be observed as National Arbor Day

"Whereas Arbor Day has been observed in previous years on different days in April, due to lack of sufficient legislation on both the State and National levels; and

"Whereas this board believes that the last Friday in April of each year would be the most appropriate day to be set aside in commemoration of National Arbor Day: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That this board hereby requests that appropriate legislation of both the

State of New York and the United States be adopted setting aside the last Friday in April of each year in commemoration of National Arbor Day; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the clerk of this board is hereby instructed to forward appropriate copies of this resolution to the State Assemblymen Price, Grover, and Huntington, and also to State Senator Barrett, and to United States Congressman WAINWRIGHT, and United States Senators JAVITS and IVES."

This is to certify that I, the undersigned, clerk of the board of supervisors of the county of Suffolk, have compared the foregoing copy of resolution or resolutions with the original resolution or resolutions now on file in this office and which was duly adopted by the board of supervisors of said county on the 28th day of April 1958, and that the same is a true and correct transcript of said resolution or resolutions and of the whole thereof.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and the official seal of the board of supervisors of the county of Suffolk, this 28th day of April, 1958.

RAYMOND R. MACLEAN,  
Clerk of the Board.

#### CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF NEW YORK LEGISLATURE

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I present for appropriate reference, and ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a concurrent resolution of the New York State Assembly, requesting consideration for the All-American Waterway connecting Lake Erie and Lake Ontario.

There being no objection, the resolution was referred to the Committee on Public Works, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

##### Resolution 37

Concurrent resolution memorializing Congress to take action toward construction of an All-American waterway connecting Lake Erie and Lake Ontario

Whereas with the completion of the St. Lawrence Seaway, it will become possible for oceangoing vessels to penetrate the very heart of the American continent; and

Whereas the opening of this waterway may have a tremendous effect on the economic life of the State of New York and particularly on that section of the State which comprises the Niagara Frontier and which has historically been the American terminus of the vast inland Great Lakes traffic; and

Whereas the Welland Canal which now connects Lake Erie and Lake Ontario through the province of Ontario is, in the judgment of many informed people, of inadequate capacity to accommodate the potential volume of Seaway traffic; and

Whereas the shortest and most logical route to bypass the Falls of Niagara is the often discussed All-American route from Lake Erie or the Upper Niagara River across the county of Niagara to Lake Ontario; and

Whereas the construction of such waterway would not only shorten the distance between the lakes by many miles, but would also result in advantage to the State of New York, and to the whole country, resulting from the movement through the State of large volumes of ocean commerce: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved (if the Senate concur)*, That the legislature of the State of New York hereby respectfully memorializes the Congress of the United States to initiate whatever action may be needed toward construction of this important and necessary All-American waterway; and be it further

*Resolved (if the Senate concur)*, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the Secretary of the Senate of the United States, the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States, and to each Member of Congress elected from the State of New York and that the latter be urged to do everything in their power to forward the purposes of this resolution.

By order of the Assembly.

HUSLEY B. BORKOWSKI,  
Clerk.

In senate March 26, 1958.

Concurred in without amendment.  
By order of the senate.

WILLIAM S. KING,  
Secretary.

#### PROHIBITION OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGE ADVERTISING IN INTERSTATE COMMERCE—PETITIONS AND RESOLUTIONS

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I present a series of petitions and resolutions relating to the enactment of Senate bill 582, to prohibit alcoholic beverage advertising in interstate commerce. I ask unanimous consent that the petitions and resolutions be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the petitions and resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, without the signatures attached, as follows:

JANUARY 1958.

Senator WILLIAM LANGER,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D. C.:

We, the undersigned, members of Saron Evangelical Free Church, Cooperstown, N. Dak., would like to have action on the bills to outlaw liquor advertising on radio, TV, and in newspapers and magazines in interstate commerce. We hereby petition you to give your support to S. 582 and the Siler bill, H. R. 4835.

(Signed by Bert Johnson and sundry other citizens of the State of North Dakota.)

COOPERSTOWN, N. DAK., January 25, 1958.

Senator WILLIAM LANGER,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We the members of the Zion Lutheran Church wish to impress to you the importance of voting "yea" on the Langer bill, S. 582, and the Siler bill, H. R. 4835, to outlaw liquor advertising on radio and TV and in newspapers and magazines in interstate commerce. Do what you can to get these bills passed.

Sincerely yours,  
(Signed by Carolyn Runde and sundry other citizens of Cooperstown, N. Dak.)

MOMENCE, ILL., March 25, 1958.

Senator WILLIAM LANGER,  
The United States Senate,  
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: We wish to commend you in your untiring efforts to present the Langer bill (S. 582) to the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

We want to add our efforts and prayers to yours—that this menace of alcohol advertising in interstate commerce on radio, television and the press be prohibited. We believe alcohol beverage advertising is becoming more flagrant and harmful and that it is a sin to condone it in our land of the free and the home of the brave.

Sincerely,

MEMBERS OF THE WOMEN'S  
CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

(Signed by Mrs. Jessie Holmberg, and sundry other citizens of Momence, Ill.)



## TACOMA, WASH.

Senator WILLIAM LANGER,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We the undersigned are in favor of the bill (S. 582).

Mrs. Violet Thompson, Mrs. Roy Mercer (Esther Mercer), Mrs. Karen Barbee, Mrs. N. R. McDonnell (Constance McDonnell), Mrs. Leo H. Heather (Kathryn N. Heather), Mrs. A. L. Hoff (Lillian), Mrs. Evelyn Johanson.

Hon. WILLIAM LANGER,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: We wish to thank you for introducing S. 582 to prohibit the transportation in interstate commerce of advertisement of alcoholic beverages.

(Signed by Miss Jennie Stacy, and sundry other citizens of the State of Missouri.)

DEAR SENATOR LANGER: We urge you to do all in your power to have the Langer bill, S. 582, brought before the Senate for action, to prohibit alcoholic beverage advertising.

(Signed by Edna C. Wilson, and sundry other citizens of Canonsburg, N. Dak.)

## RECOMMENDATION

1. Whereas the alluring liquor propaganda is chiefly directed to mothers and the home, youth and servicemen, who need to be strong for the safety and protection of our Nation; and

2. Whereas the advertising of alcoholic beverages increases drinking which is the principle cause of our shocking wave of juvenile delinquency and other crimes, gambling, tragic highway accidents, broken homes, wrecked lives, poverty, diseases, huge losses to legitimate business, political corruption, and other deplorable fruits, and the sole cause of alcoholism; so the use of alcoholic beverages should not be promoted; and

3. Whereas the liquor industry spends \$250 million annually in advertising and so achieves a vast influence over people, thus shaping their mode of life, and creating a tolerant attitude toward drunkenness and a spirit of indifference toward all the temperance work; and

4. Whereas the advertising of other things considered injurious to health, morals, and society is prohibited by law and reinforced by public opinion, alcoholic beverages, the most dangerous and destructive of all, should not be permitted this privilege:

Therefore we, the members of Norwich Evangelical Lutheran Church and the members of the Norwich Evangelical Lutheran Church Ladies' Aid, do kindly request that you as our Senators use your vote and influence in behalf of H. R. 4835 (or S. 582 to Senators) to prohibit the transportation of alcoholic beverage advertising in interstate commerce and over the air.

(Signed by Mrs. Knut Lohn and sundry other citizens of North Dakota.)

THE CATHOLIC TOTAL ABSTINENCE  
UNION OF AMERICA,  
Philadelphia, Pa., March 25, 1958.

Hon. WILLIAM R. LANGER,  
United States Senate,  
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE AND DEAR SIR: Personally I favor Senate bill S. 582 of which you are the special pleader. The battalions of public relations folk employed by the liquor makers to sell their product by injudicious and deceiving advertising statements is abhorrent to religious leaders, social experts, welfare executives, and police officials who see the havoc of intoxication and drunkenness generally in our country, and so alarmingly in-

creasing among youths even in elementary schools, who are enticed to drink over the radio, the television, billboards, and lately by so-called funnies executed by the public-relations workers. If the pitchers and batters of baseball would drink a few beers before games as is so boldly advertised by some 20 brewing companies to even the kids who watch the sport on television, the pitcher would seldom find the plate and the batters seldom hit the ball.

State laws forbid selling intoxicating liquors to minors. Will anyone in their right use of reason deny that all these forms of advertising is selling intoxicating liquors to minors. There is a difference between selling and buying, 'tis true, but inexperienced and thoughtless youth are being sold what they are forbidden by law to buy, and what not so many years ago, the American Medical Society stated should not be drunk at all.

To gain money by any form of deceit is a form of stealth. Save our youth from any form of gouging and the anxiety that is stirred in youth to buy intoxicating drink. Parents are besought and dinned to purchase what other youth is convincingly sold over television for their good. Parents are obliged to tell their youngsters "It is not good for you." I have no objection to any normal adult taking an intoxicating drink. But our union fosters total abstinence for those who desire it, or must have it.

Best wishes, sir.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. KEOGH, L. H. D.,  
President.

CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE,  
Fitzgerald, Ga., June 2, 1957.

Senator WILLIAM LANGER,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LANGER: The congregation of the Church of the Nazarene in Fitzgerald, Ga., wishes to go on record commending you for introducing bill S. 582—to prohibit the interstate transportation of alcoholic beverage advertising—into the United States Senate.

We are praying and hoping that you and others who are like minded will do all you can to get the bill pushed through. When alcoholic drinking becomes the order of the day among high-school groups, with many class parties, etc., ending in drunkenness and debauchery, it is high time to do something about it. Doubtless much of this has been brought on through the subtle means of advertising that reaches into our homes through periodicals, radio, and television.

Your bill is a good, sane approach to the problem, we feel. God bless you in your efforts.

Sincerely yours,

DOYLE C. SMITH, Pastor.  
Mrs. E. Q. DOWNING, Jr.,  
Secretary.

## PETITION

To Our Senators and Congressmen:

With juvenile court judges, domestic court judges and police officials complaining of the part played by alcohol in the deterioration of our homes and in the delinquency of our children, we again most earnestly urge you to pass legislation taking alcoholic beverage advertising off the air and out of the channels of interstate commerce. No civilization can long survive which is destroyed from within by alcohol. The glamorous and deceptive advertising which becomes constantly worse, is drowning out the warnings of the home, the school and the church with disastrous results.

(Signed by Mrs. Richard Grosz, and sundry other citizens of North Dakota and Minnesota.)

## RESOLUTION OF MINNESOTA POST NO. 8, THE AMERICAN LEGION, ST. PAUL, MINN.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the St. Paul, Minn., Post 8 of the American Legion recently adopted a resolution urging Congress to amend GI loan legislation to establish a separate governmental agency to loan money directly to qualified veterans who are unable to obtain GI loans from private lenders in their communities.

I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed in the RECORD, and appropriately referred.

There being no objection, the resolution was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ST. PAUL POST 8, AMERICAN LEGION,  
St. Paul, Minn., April 29, 1958.

Hon. HUBERT HUMPHREY,  
United States Senator from Minnesota,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR HUMPHREY: The following resolution was adopted by Post 8 of the American Legion in regular meeting assembled on April 21, 1958:

"Whereas Federal legislation now in effect guaranteeing the payment of real estate loans by private lenders was enacted to assist veterans to obtain home loans at low rates of interest; and

"Whereas private lenders have at present and for many months in the past refused to make such loans or to make money available to veterans for same, or who make the payment of exorbitant loan charges a condition of obtaining said loan; and

"Whereas periodic raising of the interest rate on same not only has failed to induce such lending but in fact defeats the purpose of the legislation itself: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by Post 8, That the Department of Minnesota, American Legion, urge the Congress of the United States to amend GI loan legislation presently in effect by providing for a separate governmental agency to loan money directly to otherwise qualified veterans who are unable to obtain GI loans from private lenders in their community, wheresoever situated; and by enacting the necessary legislation to establish said agency."

We urge you to take every means at your command to implement the conditions set forth in this resolution.

Veterans of our wars are being deprived of their rights by local lending institutions throughout the Nation although those rights are clearly set forth in legislation. We as a post of the American Legion feel that the only way that those rights can be guaranteed is for the Congress of the United States to threaten to set up or to set up a lending agency because the commercial ones refused to comply with the law.

We, of course, anticipate your full support in this matter given in the same way as it has been in the past and we shall look forward to your reply to this letter.

Respectfully,

JOHN K. DONOHUE,  
Adjutant.

## REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE

The following reports of a committee were submitted:

By Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina, from the Committee on the Judiciary, without amendment:

H. R. 2763. An act for the relief of Hong-to Dew (Rept. No. 1526);

H. R. 4445. An act for the relief of the estate of Mr. Shirley B. Stebbins (Rept. No. 1527);

H. R. 6176. An act for the relief of Fouad George Baroudy (Rept. No. 1528);

H. R. 6528. An act for the relief of Mrs. Lyman C. Murphey (Rept. No. 1529);

H. R. 6731. An act for the relief of Harry Slatkin (Rept. No. 1530);

H. R. 7203. An act for the relief of Dwight J. Brohard (Rept. No. 1531);

H. R. 7718. An act for the relief of Roy Hendricks, of Mountain View, Alaska (Rept. No. 1532);

H. R. 8039. An act for the relief of Edward L. Munroe (Rept. No. 1533);

H. R. 8433. An act for the relief of Capt. Laurence D. Talbot (retired) (Rept. No. 1534);

H. R. 8448. An act for the relief of Willie C. Williams (Rept. No. 1535);

H. R. 9012. An act for the relief of Alexander Grossman (Rept. No. 1536);

H. R. 9109. An act for the relief of John A. Tierney (Rept. No. 1537);

H. R. 9395. An act for the relief of Cornelia V. Lane (Rept. No. 1538);

H. R. 9490. An act for the relief of Sidney A. Coven (Rept. No. 1539);

H. R. 9514. An act for the relief of Valleydale Packers, Inc. (Rept. No. 1540);

H. R. 9991. An act for the relief of Felix Garcia (Rept. No. 1541); and

H. R. 9992. An act for the relief of James R. Martin and others (Rept. No. 1542).

By Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina, from the Committee on the Judiciary, with an amendment:

H. R. 1342. An act for the relief of Mrs. Helen Harvey (Rept. No. 1525);

H. R. 5424. An act for the relief of Thomas Helms and other employees of the Bureau of Public Roads (Rept. No. 1543); and

H. R. 7733. An act for the relief of Arnie M. Sanders (Rept. No. 1544).

## BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. MURRAY:

S. 3763. A bill to amend title II of the Railway Labor Act in order to extend the provisions of such act to certain employees of air carriers who perform their duties outside the United States, its Territories and possessions; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

By Mr. POTTER (for himself and Mr. ALLOTT):

S. 3764. A bill to amend title XV of the Social Security Act to extend the unemployment insurance system to ex-servicemen, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. JACKSON:

S. 3765. A bill for the relief of Paul H. White; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KEFAUVER (for himself, Mr. DOUGLAS, Mr. LANGER, Mr. CARROLL, and Mr. HENNING):

S. 3766. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 so as to provide for refund to the manufacturer of the excise tax on passenger automobiles if the manufacturer pays to the purchasers of such automobiles an amount equal to such tax; to the Committee on Finance.

(See the remarks of Mr. KEFAUVER when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. DIRKSEN:

S. 3767. A bill for the relief of James H. Starr; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MORSE:

S. 3768. A bill for the relief of Hing Man Chau; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BIBLE:

S. 3769. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to authorize and direct the construction of bridges over the Potomac River, and for other purposes," approved August 30, 1954; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. FREAR:

S. 3770. A bill to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to borrow funds for capital improvement programs and to amend provisions of law relating to Federal Government participation in meeting costs of maintaining the Nation's Capital City; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

(See the remarks of Mr. FREAR when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. LANGER:

S. 3771. A bill to amend the public assistance provisions of the Social Security Act so as to enable States to establish more adequate general assistance programs; to the Committee on Finance.

(See the remarks of Mr. LANGER when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. BRIDGES (for himself and Mr. McCLELLAN):

S. 3772. A bill to amend section 2 of the act entitled "An act making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1913, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

## PRINTING AS A SENATE DOCUMENT MANUSCRIPT ENTITLED "A SKETCH OF MINNESOTA" (S. DOC. NO. 99)

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, on previous occasions of statehood centennials, the Senate has seen fit to authorize the printing as Senate documents of pertinent manuscripts bearing on the centennial celebration. In recent weeks as we have discussed and planned for the Minnesota Statehood Centennial, articles of interest and importance have come to my attention.

One in particular is an unpublished manuscript entitled "A Sketch of Minnesota," prepared by Russell W. Fridley, the director of the Minnesota State Historical Society. In length, balance of view, and sweep of history and interest, I believe it is an exceptionally fitting and appropriate subject for printing as a Senate document.

I have discussed this matter with the Joint Committee on Printing and received an estimate of cost from them. I have also discussed with the Rules Committee the importance of expediting Senate action and I received their approval for immediate consideration of this question on the floor. I have also cleared this with the majority and minority leaderships.

Consequently I send to the desk a Senate resolution which would authorize a printing of the manuscript I have just mentioned as a Senate document as well as the printing of 25,000 copies for the use of Minnesota Senators. I ask unanimous consent that the Senate consider this matter immediately.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be read for the information of the Senate.

The resolution (S. Res. 301) was read, as follows:

*Resolved*, That the manuscript entitled "A Sketch of Minnesota," prepared by Russell W. Fridley, Director of the Minnesota Historical Society, shall be printed as a Senate document.

SEC. 2. There shall be printed 25,000 additional copies of such Senate document for use of the Members of the Senate from the State of Minnesota.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the resolution was considered and agreed to.

## AMENDMENT OF INTERNAL REVENUE CODE, RELATING TO EXCISE TAXES ON AUTOMOBILES

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, on behalf of myself, the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. LANGER], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. HENNING], and the Senator from Colorado [Mr. CARROLL], I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 so as to provide for refund, to the manufacturer, of the excise tax on passenger automobiles if the manufacturer pays to the purchasers of such automobiles an amount equal to such tax.

The bill is designed to reduce the manufacturers' excise tax on automobiles. It stems from the series of hearings on administered prices in the automobile industry and their relation to automobile sales which were conducted by the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, of which I have the honor to be chairman.

The present situation of the automobile industry is dark indeed. Production in the first 4 months of this year indicates that the annual rate of operation during 1958 will be the lowest we have seen in 10 years. Unemployment has been heavy in this industry alone in Michigan, and has been spreading rapidly throughout the country. Plants have been closed or employment in the automobile industry curtailed in Texas, Illinois, Ohio, Virginia, Missouri, Indiana, Delaware, New York, New Jersey, California, and in my own State of Tennessee. The effects of cutbacks in automobile production are clearly evident in the present reduced level of activity in the steel industry, in tires, in nonferrous metals, in the glass and textile industries, and others too numerous to list here.

The Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly has heard several experts on many of the factors affecting automobile demand. A major factor in explaining reduced sales, according to these expert witness, has been the high prices of automobiles. All of the witnesses were in agreement that a reduction in the cost of automobiles to buyers would have a significant effect in raising sales. Representatives of the industry itself and other persons have urged the Congress to consider a reduction in the



automobile excise tax as one way to bring down the present high cost of cars to buyers.

I am convinced that lower automobile prices to the retail buyers would stimulate new car sales. What has bothered me, however, is the question of a positive mechanism to ensure that reductions in the excise tax will be passed directly and immediately to the ultimate purchaser. The bill which I propose has been designed to provide such a mechanism. I quote from the language of the bill:

There shall be credited or refunded to the manufacturer \* \* \* producer or importer \* \* \* half of the amount paid by him under such section on his sale of any article which is purchased by the ultimate purchaser on or after May 1, 1958, if the manufacturer, producer or importer—

(1) pays to the ultimate purchaser of such article, within 90 days after the date of purchase of such article by the ultimate purchaser, an amount equal to half of the tax paid by him on his sale of such article; and

(2) furnishes proof, satisfactory to the Secretary or his delegate, of such payment to the ultimate purchaser.

I propose that the present excise rate remain in force, but that the manufacturer may receive a credit of one-half of his tax obligation if—and only if—he refunds the amount of such a credit to the ultimate retail buyers of his products. The buyer of a new automobile would receive this refund as a lump sum payment directly from the manufacturer—in this way there would be no possibility of his not getting the benefit of the tax reduction.

My belief in the desirability of this proposal has been reinforced by the testimony before the subcommittee of Dr. George Katona, director of the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan. Dr. Katona enjoys a well-deserved reputation as one of this country's foremost experts in the field of consumer psychology. He has pointed out that in the present sensitive state of the economy—with consumers and businessmen hoping for early recovery, but fearing further recession—some dramatic action by the Government is capable of having very beneficial results. My proposal involves an action of the general type called for by Dr. Katona. Each buyer of a new car would receive from the manufacturer, shortly after its purchase, a check representing a substantial lump-sum rebate. According to Dr. Katona, the psychological stimulus resulting from an action of this type would provide an additional stimulus to the overall economy.

In offering this proposal, I express the hope that the manufacturers of automobiles do their share to restore sales by reducing their list prices. On Tuesday, the able senior Senator from Illinois, one of the country's most distinguished economists, appeared as a witness before the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly. Making a suggestion similar to my own, the Senator said:

In a free-enterprise economy, industry clearly cannot expect the Government to take all the antirecession measures. Here is a perfect example for the exercise of that

"partnership" between industry and government which the present administration has been urging so strongly. It is an opportunity for government and industry to help the economy and help industry.

I have been thinking, in very general terms, of a reduction in the automobile excise tax from 10 to, say, 5 percent, and I hope this would be accompanied by a 5-percent cut in their own prices by the manufacturers. The Senator from Illinois spoke in terms of a 75-percent reduction in the excise tax down to 2½ percent and a price cut of 6 percent. These are mere differences in detail. The question of the precise extent of the tax cut and the associated price cut is less important than the principle involved—the fact that we are both advocating action by the Government and the automobile industry, each contributing a share to the pressing task of restoring prosperity to the American economy.

If action along these lines is taken by Government and management, organized labor in the automobile industry must also do its part by exercising restraint in its demands for higher wages and better working conditions. I should not like to think that a sincere effort to reduce prices, made by Government and industry, would be brought to naught by wage demands which would result in any significant increase in costs.

On the basis of evidence produced before the subcommittee, I am convinced that with the reduction of the excise tax I have recommended, the automobile industry could make a 5-percent reduction in price without any sacrifice of profits. As production rises, overhead costs per car will fall by at least enough to offset any effect on profits of the price cut.

Let me invite attention to the fact that my bill would make any excise-tax reductions retroactive to May 1, 1958. I believe that this is essential. Discussion of my proposal, or any other, will take time. During this time, prospective buyers of automobiles may be uncertain as to the course which the Congress may take. By making such cuts retroactive, we are telling customers, "You may buy your car now, with confidence that you will receive the benefit of any changes which the Congress may enact."

I cannot emphasize too strongly the importance of action in this session of the 85th Congress. Unemployment grows more serious with each passing day. Automobile manufacturing is perhaps the most pivotal industry of our economy. Declining automobile sales will create further unemployment not only in the automobile industry but throughout the economy. A program of positive action to revive automobile sales is one constructive approach to the whole problem of economic recovery. I am not introducing this bill lightly. My proposal rests upon a firm foundation of evidence concerning the relationship between price policies and industrial output developed by the Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee in hearings on administered prices extending over the past year.

I recognize that what I am proposing is a recommendation for action by Congress and a recommendation for action by private industry. As far as the Congressional action is concerned, I recognize that jurisdiction falls within the Senate Finance Committee and the House Ways and Means Committee. Our committee obtained its knowledge of the subject by hearings which examined the relationship between pricing policy and monopoly power.

It would be my hope that the appropriate legislative committees would give this proposal, and the amount of evidence we have accumulated, careful and prompt consideration. Whatever is done should be done quickly, so that an aura of indecision may be removed from a problem which requires decisive action.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3766) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 so as to provide for refund to the manufacturer of the excise tax on passenger automobiles if the manufacturer pays to the purchasers of such automobiles an amount equal to such tax, introduced by Mr. KEFAUVER (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

#### AUTHORIZATION TO BORROW FUNDS FOR CAPITAL IMPROVEMENT PROGRAMS BY COMMISSIONERS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. FREAR. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to borrow funds for capital improvement programs and to amend provisions of law relating to Federal Government participation in meeting costs of maintaining the Nation's Capital City. I wish to state that a companion bill has been introduced in the House of Representatives by Representative SMITH of Virginia.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3770) to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to borrow funds for capital improvement programs and to amend provisions of law relating to Federal Government participation in meeting costs of maintaining the Nation's Capital City, introduced by Mr. FREAR, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

#### AMENDMENT OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PROVISIONS OF SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to amend the public assistance provisions of the Social Security Act so as to enable States to establish more adequate general assistance programs. I ask unanimous consent that a statement, by me, relating to the bill, may be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the statement will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 3771) to amend the public assistance provisions of the Social Security Act so as to enable States to establish more adequate general assistance programs, introduced by Mr. LANGER, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

The statement presented by Mr. LANGER is as follows:

#### STATEMENT BY SENATOR LANGER

One of the most pressing duties facing us is helping the millions of our people who are not now entitled to any of the economic protection afforded under our Social Security Act.

During the late period of almost full employment hundreds of thousands suffered in silence, their plight hidden by our boom economy. These are the people who, in times of personal or general economic distress, qualify for none of the benefits available under our Social Security Act. They are not eligible for unemployment compensation and they cannot meet the qualifications established for aid under any one of the four categories of the public assistance section:

- Aid to the aged;
- Aid to the blind;
- Aid to the physically handicapped;
- Aid to dependent children.

Their only recourse has been the very, very limited general relief programs offered by some communities. No Federal financial aid, and in most cases, no State money, is available to them. The result is grossly inadequate programs unfair to both the needy and to the hard-pressed homeowners whose real estate taxes have been the only source of revenue available for financing general relief.

Naturally, this economic depression has been felt most deeply here, simply because there is no State or Federal program to act as a cushion for their economic distress. Reports from across the country indicate that county welfare offices are jammed. Relief rolls are swollen. Hundreds of thousands of desperate people are being turned away without any aid because either county funds are exhausted; or county rules and regulations prohibit such individuals from receiving assistance.

The current unemployment crisis has served to bring this problem into sharp focus. We must first realize that unemployment insurance cannot be made to cover all needs that arise as a result of unemployment.

And yet, general assistance is available in many communities today only to unemployable persons. Despite the fact that many destitute people in many communities are ineligible for general assistance, rolls have been climbing. Some States and communities have been forced to cut back on their funds for general assistance due to the likelihood of decreased tax revenues.

The amount being paid for general assistance is inadequate. The average monthly payment in January 1958 was \$61 per case, which includes the average payment for both families and single persons. This average varies widely among States and localities. Statistics from the Social Security Administration show that the average monthly payment in some of the low per capita income States, ranged from \$12.50 to \$14.23 per month.

States, counties, and municipal finances have not, cannot, and should not be expected to meet this challenge and financial burden alone. The Federal Government has a moral responsibility to share the cost of financing on an equitable basis the cost of

general assistance to the States and municipalities.

The National Institute of Social Welfare, George McClain, its president, with offices at 200 C Street SE., Washington, D. C., has for years been advocating that Congress enact a general assistance program to the public assistance section of our Federal social security laws. A fifth categorical aid to be included along with the other four public assistance programs.

The board of directors of the American Public Welfare Association both in 1956 and 1957 formally set forth a Federal grant-in-aid for general assistance, as the first and most important legislative and assistance objective in the public welfare program. National councils of State and local directors of public welfare have repeatedly passed resolutions urging Federal grants-in-aid for general assistance cases. Voluntary national social welfare organizations have recognized this gross weakness in the national public welfare system and constantly endorsed a Federal grant-in-aid for general assistance.

A number of circumstances combine to make the general assistance problem a national one. We are faced, first of all, with the realization that our society has become more mobile each year. Much of the work force, particularly in the low-income and manual-labor bracket, attempts to follow the labor market, with little regard for State boundaries, let alone county lines.

On the other hand, we find States and counties clinging tenaciously to the archaic residence requirement dating back to Queen Elizabeth's poor laws in the matter of public welfare responsibility. Obviously, this mobile society of 1958 is completely incompatible with the static, rigid qualifications borrowed from 17th century England and yet, it is difficult to blame any one State or county for the harsh requirements. Their fear that a great influx of destitute people would be the result of local lessening of qualifications, thus severely straining local finances, I believe, is well founded.

In brief, we know that widespread suffering exists for a very great percentage of our people. We know, further, that there is widespread recognition of this problem by people on the State and local levels of Government. It remains only for Congress to recognize this as a national problem—and it surely is—then to proceed with a national remedy.

I therefore offer for this Congress' consideration a bill creating permanently a new title to the Social Security Act, to be known as the General Assistance Act of 1958, to amend the public assistance provisions so as to enable States to establish more adequate general assistance programs.

I earnestly hope that it will receive early and favorable consideration.

#### AMENDMENT OF MUTUAL SECURITY ACT OF 1954—AMENDMENTS

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, as a cosponsor of the Mutual Security Act for the 1959 fiscal year, I submit an amendment to that bill, S. 3318, to amend further the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes.

The purpose of the amendment is to provide permanent authorization for appropriations of "such amounts as may be necessary from time to time" or a selected, few activities.

The Congress has already wisely provided in other instances for such permanent authorizations. Thus, it has already done so in the instance of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, in the instance of

NATO civilian expenses, and in the instance of the Department of State administrative expenses in connection with the mutual security program.

It is now proposed to amend the Mutual Security Act of 1954 so as, likewise, to provide for such permanent appropriations for the technical cooperation program for the Organization of American States, escapee programs, ocean freight for relief shipments, the United Nations Children's Fund, and purposes under the Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act of 1951.

I should like to point out that in each of these instances the annual authorizations and appropriations have remained nearly constant.

I should like to point out that the Congress not only by its writing of the MSA authorization and appropriation laws each year, but also by the comments contained in the reports of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, and by the comments of individual Members of the Senate and House, has long since signified its high regard for these programs.

I have particular reference to the United Nations Children's Fund and the technical-aid program of the OAS, as well as the program of ocean freight coverage for humanitarian relief shipments.

The escapee-aid provisions and Battle Act provisions have, likewise, been the subject of favorable comment.

I send to the desk two items; the first is the text of the amendment itself; the second is a table which documents the stability of the annual authorizations and appropriations under each of these five programs.

I believe the amendment will be non-controversial, and I further believe it will be incorporated without dissent in the version of the bill coming from the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations which my colleagues and I will support.

I ask unanimous consent, therefore, that both items be printed at this point in the RECORD.

The President pro tempore. The amendment will be received, printed, and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the amendment and table will be printed in the RECORD.

The amendment submitted by Mr. WILEY was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, as follows:

On page 10, strike out lines 12 through 14, and insert the following:

"(3) Amend subsection (b) to read as follows: 'Such amounts as may be necessary from time to time for contributions to the technical cooperation program of the Organization of American States.'"

On page 13 strike out lines 10 through 11, and insert the following:

"(2) Amend subsection (d) to read as follows: 'There is hereby authorized to be appropriated such amounts as may be necessary from time to time for continuation of activities, including care, training and resettlement, which have been undertaken for selected escapees under section 401 of this Act.'"

On page 13, strike out lines 12 and 13, and insert the following:

"(f) Amend section 406, which relates to children's welfare, to read as follows: 'There



is hereby authorized to be appropriated such amounts as may be necessary from time to time for contributions to the United Nations Children's Fund."

On page 13, strike out lines 19 through 21, and insert the following:

"(h) Amend section 409 (c), which relates to ocean freight charges, to read as follows: 'There is hereby authorized to be appropriated such amounts as may be necessary from time to time to carry out the purposes of this section.'"

On page 13, strike out line 22 and on page 14, strike out lines 1 and 2, and insert the following:

"(i) Amend the first sentence of section 410 to read as follows: 'There is hereby authorized to be appropriated such amounts as may be necessary from time to time to carry out the objectives of the Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act of 1951 (22 U. S. C. 1611)'."

The table presented by Mr. WILEY is as follows:

Table indicating stability of appropriations

[In millions of dollars]

Program	Requested fiscal year 1957	Appropriated fiscal year 1957	Requested fiscal year 1958	Appropriated fiscal year 1958	Requested fiscal year 1959
OAS technical aid.....	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
Escapes.....	7.0	6.0	5.5	5.5	8.6
Children's Fund.....	10.0	10.0	11.0	11.0	11.0
Ocean freight for relief shipments.....	1.4	2.5	2.2	2.2	2.1
Battle Act.....	1.175	1.175	1.0	1.0	1.0

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 4 or 5 minutes in addition to the time allowed under the limitation.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Senator may proceed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, some 10 years ago the Congress passed the Economic Cooperation Act. At that time the Committee on Foreign Relations recommended to the Senate, after a most careful examination by the Brookings Institution, that the economic aid contemplated by the Marshall plan should be made the responsibility of a new agency. In the words of the committee report:

The complex nature of the recovery program and the magnitude of the task to be performed called for the creation of a new and separate operating agency.

The report also noted that—

The committee completely agreed with the Secretary of State that it would be unwise to place the agency in the Department of State. Such a move would impose on the Secretary responsibility for duties of an operational nature, not within the normal range of the Department's activities and might, as a result, impair the execution of its policy functions.

That decision to set up a separate operating agency for so-called foreign aid is 10 years old. In that year, 1948-49, Congress authorized a total of \$7.89 billion for economic assistance.

Now, 10 years later, the amount requested by the administration for all kinds of foreign-aid appropriations is \$3.9 billion; and of that amount, \$2.6 billion is for mutual defense—military \$1.8 billion, defense support \$835 million—\$625 million for the development loan fund, and the balance of about \$781 million for all types of grant economic assistance multilateral programs, and so on.

I am submitting an amendment which, if adopted, would permit the military portions of the aid program to be made part of appropriations made directly to the Department of Defense. This is where the military programs belong if

they are to promote the defense of the United States.

The administration this year has asked that the development loan fund be set up as a Government corporation. I expect to support that proposal of the administration, because I think it makes sense. Moreover, the proposal for a corporate organization of the development loan fund is consistent with the recommendations made last year by the Special Senate Committee To Study the Foreign Aid Program.

But I call attention to the fact, Mr. President, that if the military portion of the program is to be a part of the Department of Defense appropriation, as the administration itself recommended last year, and as I propose in my amendment submitted this year, and if the development loan fund is to be operated as a Government corporation, the only portions of the aid program still to be administered by the International Cooperation Administration will be those represented by proposed authorization in the amount of \$781 million.

It seems to me, therefore, that the justification for maintaining a separate operating agency for foreign aid no longer exists. When the program was in the magnitude of \$5 billion to \$7 billion each year, there certainly was need for a separate agency. But today, when the economic grant portions, the technical assistance, and the smaller programs, including the Children's Fund, the Palestine refugee program, malaria eradication, and special Presidential funds admittedly for international political uses, total less than \$1 billion per year, I can see no reason why the International Cooperation Administration should not be completely integrated into the Department of State. The day has passed when there was a need for separate country desks, separate personnel systems, separate Congressional liaison offices, separate security procedures, and so forth.

I am aware of recent progress which has been made in bringing the ICA under the direction of the Deputy Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs.

I pay tribute to the outstanding contribution which has been made by the present Director of the ICA, Mr. James Smith, who has performed such fine and excellent work in such a short time, and to the Deputy Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, Mr. C. Douglas Dillon, for the outstanding work he has done since assuming that position.

This has been a move in the right direction. The only difficulty is that it has not gone far enough.

At the present time the Congress has insisted, as has the administration, that our aid activities abroad are to be coordinated and under the clear policy and operating direction of our Ambassadors. This coordination in the field came about only after Congressional pressure resulting from observations made by many Members of Congress who in the past have seen instances in which State Department representatives in the field have been overwhelmed by our foreign aid representatives. Happily, these difficulties have been overcome in large part.

But we still have a problem of coordination and overlapping functions in Washington. The problem is magnified by the existence of the semiautonomous International Cooperation Administration—staffed by able and conscientious and hard-working men and women.

The time has come for the Congress to insist that the foreign aid operations which remain in ICA be fully integrated into the Department of State. Such a move will unify all foreign policy and operating responsibility in Washington, it will put point 4 back into the Department of State, where Congress originally insisted that it be, and it will give ICA employees a sense of security which they do not now have.

I am fully aware of complaints that Congress is constantly pulling agencies up by the roots and replanting them. I do not have the proverbial "green thumb," but I know that there are at least some types of gardening projects in which success requires replanting. Failure to replant when the time is appropriate can sometimes be serious.

I submit, for appropriate reference, an amendment which, if adopted, would require that during the next year the administration take steps to integrate the operations of the International Cooperation Administration fully into the Department of State. This amendment will give the administration a year to complete the process. When the change has been made, I believe we shall have an administrative framework which will make sense. It will be possible to plan and to conduct aid programs in such a way as to give them their maximum impact on the conduct of our foreign policy. I ask unanimous consent that the amendment may be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment will be received, printed, and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the amendment will be printed in the RECORD.

The amendment was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, as follows:

On page 16, line 12, strike out "by changing section 537," and insert the following: "as follows:

"(a) Amend section 521, which relates to delegation of authority by the President, by adding the following: '(d) After June 30, 1959, the agency within the Department of State known as the International Cooperation Administration, established by Executive Order 10610, shall cease to exist and thereafter all functions conferred by law upon, or otherwise placed under the jurisdiction of the International Cooperation Administration, shall be administered under the direction of the Secretary of State in such manner as to assure that there shall be no duplication of administrative actions and that assistance policy decisions and other activities authorized by this act may be fully coordinated with other activities of the Department of State.'

"(b) Section 537."

Mr. MANSFIELD. In conclusion, Mr. President, I should like to state that the Senate, as well as the Congress, in 1953 unanimously voted to bring an end to the Mutual Security Administration and to transfer the functions of that organization to the Department of Defense and the Department of State. Shortly after the Congress agreed to the termination of the MSA, the President sent down a reorganization plan—No. 7 or No. 8, I forget which—to set up the FOA.

In 1954 the Congress again unanimously decided that the independent aid agency should be abolished and its functions taken over by the Department of Defense and the Department of State, but instead of that being done the administration, while abolishing FOA, set up in its place the present operation, the International Cooperation Administration, known as the ICA, on a semiautonomous basis. That is the status of the agency today.

I am pleased to note that in the past year, under the direction of the Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, and the Deputy Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, Mr. C. Douglas Dillon, there has been a closer coordination between the ICA and the Department of State. I think in this respect the present Director of ICA, Mr. James Smith, should also be given great credit.

However, I think in the field of foreign policy we had better do away with the semiautonomous nature of ICA and transfer its functions to the Department of State and the Department of Defense, giving security to the employees who will be retained, in that way getting down to bedrock in the administration of a foreign aid program.

#### PURCHASING PROGRAMS FOR CERTAIN MINERALS—AMENDMENTS

Mr. MORSE (for himself, Mr. MURRAY, Mr. MANSFIELD, and Mr. NEUBERGER) submitted amendments, intended to be proposed by them, jointly, to the bill (S. 3600) to provide for certain purchasing programs for copper, lead, manganese, and zinc, and for other pur-

poses, which were referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

#### TECHNICAL CHANGES IN FEDERAL EXCISE-TAX LAWS—AMENDMENTS

Mr. FLANDERS submitted amendments, intended to be proposed by him, to the bill (H. R. 7125) to make technical changes in the Federal excise-tax laws, and for other purposes, which were referred to the Committee on Finance, and ordered to be printed.

#### PRINTING OF REVIEW OF REPORTS ON BAYOUS PETIT ANSE, TIGRE, AND CARLIN, LA. (S. DOC. NO. 70)

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, on behalf of the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Public Works, the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ], I present a letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting a report dated March 25, 1958, from the Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army, together with accompanying papers and illustrations, on a review of reports on Bayous Petit Anse, Tigre, and Carlin, La., requested by a resolution of the Committee on Public Works of March 24, 1954. I ask unanimous consent that the report be printed as a Senate document, with illustrations, and referred to the Committee on Public Works.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Oregon? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

#### PRINTING OF REVIEW OF REPORT ON MIAMI HARBOR, FLA. (S. DOC. NO. 71)

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, on behalf of the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Public Works, the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ], I present a letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting a report dated April 16, 1958, from the Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army, together with accompanying papers and illustrations, on a review of report on Miami Harbor, Fla., requested by a resolution of the Committee on Commerce, adopted July 10, 1945. I ask unanimous consent that the report be printed as a Senate document, with illustrations, and referred to the Committee on Public Works.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Oregon? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

#### ADDRESSES, EDITORIALS, ARTICLES, ETC., PRINTED IN THE RECORD

On request, and by unanimous consent, addresses, editorials, articles, etc.,

were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

By Mr. KNOWLAND:

Statement made by him before the Labor Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, May 5, 1958.

By Mr. FREAR:

The Keenan Fables, by Hon. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN, Member of Congress from Ohio.

#### AMERICAN BANKERS ASSOCIATION SUPPORT OF RECIPROCAL TRADE AGREEMENTS PROGRAM

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, this morning, I was pleased to receive from the American Bankers Association the text of a resolution, which had been adopted by that distinguished organization and had been transmitted to the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, for the purpose of backing up President Eisenhower's proposal for extension of the reciprocal trade agreements program.

Coincidentally, just last night, of course, the President renewed his heartfelt plea for this vital objective.

Promotion of mutually beneficial two-way trade is close to the heart of Dwight Eisenhower, as it should be close to every American's heart.

I emphasize mutually beneficial because my interest is in true reciprocity which promotes the mutual interests of both parties.

A great many amendments will, no doubt, be offered to the bill now being considered in the Ways and Means Committee. I hope those amendments will be considered with care and with caution, but in a spirit of reason and logic.

I hope we shall not disappoint our friends abroad, or disappoint our thinking people at home, all of whom are interested in true reciprocity.

Economic isolationism is as objectionable, if not more so, than political isolationism or military isolationism. Time has made any form of isolationism utterly obsolete.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the press release from the association, and its enclosed policy statement, be printed at this point in the body of the RECORD.

One may not agree with the statement in its entirety; but it does, indeed, represent an overall, enlightened approach.

There being no objection, the release and resolution were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### EXTENSION OF RECIPROCAL TRADE PROGRAM IS ADVOCATED BY AMERICAN BANKERS ASSOCIATION

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 30.—The American Bankers Association today advocated a 5-year extension of the reciprocal trade agreements program as "an important contribution to the economic well-being both of the United States and of the entire Free World."

"In view of the mounting economic and military challenge of the Communist nations, it would be extremely unfortunate if we were to allow domestic economic difficulties of a transitory nature to turn our foreign economic policy back toward economic isolationism," the American Bankers Association declared in a resolution transmitted to Chairman WILBUR D. MILLS, of the Ways



and Means Committee of the House of Representatives by President Joseph C. Welman, of Kennett, Mo. The resolution was adopted by the executive council, the association's governing body between conventions.

The American Bankers Association policy statement notes that "the pervasive interdependence of the economies of the Free World" has been emphasized by the recent economic decline in the United States.

"From the standpoint of our own industrial recovery, it is important that American private investment abroad continue to expand, for such investment increases the dollar purchasing power of foreign nations, thereby raising demand for products of American industries.

"It would be fallacious and dangerous for us to try to stimulate economic recovery in the United States by placing greater restrictions on the entry of products from abroad."

The text of the resolution, which was recommended unanimously by the association's economic policy commission and the advisory committee on special activities follows:

**"RESOLUTION ON FOREIGN TRADE POLICY ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, AMERICAN BANKERS ASSOCIATION, APRIL 22, 1958**

"Over the past several months, the economic decline in this country has emphasized the pervasive interdependence of the economies of the Free World. If long continued, the recession here would pose a serious threat to the economic stability of friendly nations abroad, because our foreign investment outlays and our imports and exports exert an important influence on the level of economic activity of these countries. In turn, if economic conditions abroad were to become unfavorable, this would intensify our own distress by reducing demand for the products of our export industries.

"Over the past 25 years much has been achieved in the way of developing a foreign economic policy that is truly in the national interest. Our efforts to reduce restrictive and discriminatory barriers to the expansion of world trade, our mutual-security program, our economic and technical assistance programs, and our encouragement of American private investment abroad, have strengthened our own Nation economically and politically and have enhanced the economic stability and military security of the nations of the Free World. Indeed, the present strength of the Free World can be attributed in large part to our foreign economic policy since World War II.

"In view of the mounting economic and military challenge of the Communist nations, it would be extremely unfortunate if we were to allow domestic economic difficulties of a transitory nature to turn our foreign economic policy back toward economic isolationism. From the point of view of our own industrial recovery, it is important that American private investment abroad continue to expand, for such investment increases the dollar purchasing power of foreign nations, thereby raising demand for the products of American industries. Broadening the market for American exports also requires that we continue to negotiate for the reduction of barriers to the international movement of goods and currencies.

"It would be fallacious and dangerous for us to try to stimulate economic recovery in the United States by placing greater restrictions on the entry of products from abroad. Such restrictions would serve to increase the impact of the current recession on other nations of the Free World and to depress further the demand for products of our own export industries. By broadening the market for our own products and stimulating world trade in general, we can make an important contribution to the economic well-being both

of the United States and of the entire Free World.

"In view of the foregoing considerations: Therefore be it

**"Resolved,** That the executive council of the American Bankers Association go on record as approving the 5-year extension of the reciprocal trade-agreements program, and the related legislation necessary to its effective implementation."

#### FAIR TREATMENT OF MENOMINEE INDIANS

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, as you know, the conference committee has now concluded its consideration of House bill 6322. The conference report will, of course, come up soon for our consideration. The purpose of this measure is to extend the time for submission of a plan for per capita distribution of the tribal assets of the Menominee Indians, as well as for final termination of Federal jurisdiction over tribal affairs.

In addition, the bill proposes to modify—unfairly, I believe—the provisions relating to reimbursement of termination costs to the Menominee Tribe.

Mr. President, at the time of consideration of the conference report, I intend to move to recommit the report to the conference committee, in order to have it correct the inequities in the measure.

The language of the bill should, I believe, be revised so as not to thrust upon the Menominee Indians a retroactive obligation for this year, for termination costs which heretofore have been provided by the Federal Government.

I have received from Stewart Honeck, attorney general for Wisconsin, and chairman of the Menominee Indian Study Committee, a telegram in which he urges full Federal reimbursement to the tribe for termination costs.

Furthermore, I have received a comprehensive statement from Mr. George W. Kenote, chairman of the Menominee Coordinating and Negotiating Committee. In his statement, Chairman Kenote makes these particular points: If termination plans are disrupted by a change in reimbursement policy, or are forced to completion without workable safeguards, the following problems are anticipated by the tribe:

First. Efforts may be made to encroach on the timber and other resources of the Menominee Tribe;

Second. The administrative machinery would not be sufficiently developed to enable the members of the tribe to protect its interests adequately; and

Third. The form of local government, following termination of Federal control, may not have been adequately formulated to serve best the interests of the tribe.

To acquaint my colleagues with the background of this situation, as well as to support a request for a change which I believe is just and reasonable in the bill, I request unanimous consent to have the telegram from Attorney General Honeck and excerpts from Chairman Kenote's letter printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the telegrams and excerpts from the letter were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

MADISON, WIS., May 6, 1958.

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY,  
United States Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D. C.:

As you know, the Menominee Indian Study Committee has strongly urged the conference committee which met to resolve differences between H. R. 6322 and the Senate version sponsored by Hon. RICHARD NEUBERGER to recommend to the Senate that there be full reimbursement of funds expended by the Menominee Tribe for carrying out the purposes of the Termination Act. The Senate amendment originally offered by Senator NEUBERGER to impose half the termination cost upon the Menominee Tribe will serve to impose grave inequities and burdens upon the State of Wisconsin, upon the local units of government where the reservation is located, and upon the Menominee Tribe itself. I hope you will exert every proper influence within your authority to persuade the Senate to follow the study committee's recommendation as contained in the policy resolution dated December 6, 1957, communicated to the conference committee.

STEWART G. HONECK,  
Chairman, Menominee Indian Study  
Committee.

KESHENA, WIS., May 2, 1958.

DEAR MEMBERS OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES: As chairman of the Menominee Coordinating and Negotiating Committee, I am making this personal appeal to every Member of the Congress in an effort to salvage a workable termination of Federal services program for the Menominee Tribe and the United States Government. I shall as briefly and concisely as possible justify this appeal.

The Coordinating and Negotiating Committee of the Menominee Tribe was established on November 7, 1957, to deal specifically with the tribal responsibilities with respect to termination of Federal services to the Menominee people, pursuant to Public Law 399, 83d Congress, as amended. When the Menominee Tribe, by vote, asked me to take a year's leave of absence from my position as Assistant Chief of the Branch of Law and Order of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, at considerable sacrifice, interruption of personal plans and considerable heartache to family and myself, I undertook this task as soon as I could possibly get away from my other responsibilities. I have served those latter responsibilities faithfully for nearly 25 years, working thousands of hours overtime and many times around the clock without getting or ever expecting overtime pay. I have devoted the same effort to the Menominee termination problems. I have known the Menominee problems for many years and believe I understand my people and that I can accurately state their position.

They have long suspected the encroachment of outside timber interests upon their finest asset next to their children—their standing forest, which they have always cherished as a heritage. In the late 1880's and 1890's when they attempted to seek restoration and settlement of their swampland claims against the State of Wisconsin, they suspected duplicity when such efforts never came to fruition. Early in this century when a boom broke on the Wolf River and they lost a substantial amount of harvested timber to the river tides, they had a reason to suspect the cause—so far as I know they never collected on that loss. During the 1920's when a bill was introduced in the Congress without our consent to make a national park or forest of the reservation, they suspected the motive not without reason.

As recently as the early and mid-1940's, when they had finally won and were awarded clear title to the swamplands within the reservation, which contain some of our finest timber, they had good reason to suspect that certain outside timber interests still wanted their timber when those interests opposed the final settlement, which involved the United States, the State of Wisconsin and the Menominee Tribe and not the private timber interests. The United States paid the State a cash settlement and the tribe received clear title to the swamplands after about 90 years of dispute. We knew that timber interests were anxious to log the swamplands.

In Wisconsin there is perhaps the best example in the United States of what happens when the Indians have lost their timber and their land. In the 1920's when the timber interests moved out, they left, as an Indian grade-school student so aptly said in a classroom theme, A Cabin in the Stumps, and the State of Wisconsin inherited a relief and welfare load beyond proportions. The evidence is there yet: the naked land and the hungry hearts and stomachs of what is left of the humankind. Some may call the Menominees' slowness to get to termination as a dragging of feet; I see it as a real and natural hesitancy and fear of the future bred by real experience, and honest ignorance of a new scheme of things. I believe that we, who want to preserve our lands, can say with the English, "Our fathers' graves are here."

When I went to Menominee early this year, I found an adult-education program in progress to remedy that lack of experience and ignorance. As admirable as is its purpose, it was, and is, not getting a response I thought it ought to have and I made my personal investigation. I found that the large majority of the people were not able to absorb the material being brought to them; they were not able to translate it to real meaning because they had not had the base of experience or training necessary to understand the material and so had dropped out of the classes, which dealt on the forms and responsibilities of State and county government and business organization.

I found that the basis of the material being given to them was fixed in the Wisconsin law on governmental structure and the general law on business organization. I read all the available material developed and found no exposition of the impact or full meaning of Public Law 399 in all its implications with respect thereto. The people simply did not understand. The adult-education-program instructor has admitted to questioners that Public Law 399 is too complex for him to interpret. Tribal leaders had no real understanding of all its impact and implications; some of them admittedly did not know how to interpret its provisions, and not knowing its implications they did not know what questions to ask or how, intelligently, to pose questions. For instance, many of them took a December news release from the Bureau of Indian Affairs which implied that the Indian tribal government could continue to exist after termination, at its face value and saw nothing contrary in section 10 of Public Law 399. Many did not realize that under section 3 the interests of Menominee people can descend to non-Menominees. They believed that under other provisions of section 3 they could deny the alienability of certificates of beneficial interests due each enrolled member of the tribe; they did not understand the application of Wisconsin law to such interests after termination, pursuant to section 10 of the act. They could not be expected to. Neither the people nor their leaders are trained in law or business and have no real experience in law or in large business practices and, therefore, could not develop plans contemplated by the act. Nothing was brought to

the tribal attorneys and they had no direction with respect to tribal wishes. I found doldrums of inaction because no one in the tribe knew how or what to do.

I must admit that after over 3 months of intensive study of the form of State, county, and town government in Wisconsin and all it involves, and of the various forms of corporate enterprise available to us, the coordinating negotiating committee has had a difficult time, adequately, to translate to the people recommendations or course of action. Without implying criticism, it is clear that the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Department of the Interior have offered no recommendations. The Menominee study committee and the university staff assistants have made prodigious studies and have laid out perspectives, but have left decisions to the tribe without recommendations. There I see a weakness in the whole Menominee termination process. The Menominee people have been expected to make choices and decisions in matters that some attorneys and businessmen of my acquaintance admit they could not safely make themselves if they had the final choices and decisions to make. The Congress, the Government agencies, and the State people have simply expected too much too soon.

Now, I do not wish to imply that the capacity to learn is not there. Many of the better educated are making admirable progress and with some real experience with real problems can develop into real leaders under the new systems of government. A little more time will be necessary in the business enterprises. Business advisers and consultants have pointed out our inadequacies in the field of business management, particularly with respect to large corporate enterprise. We do not thoroughly understand finance, all forms of taxation, trust operations, investment, nor corporate organization and all it entails. In addition to the foregoing, the three most important reasons for business failures fit squarely on our shoulders, viz., "inadequate sales, competitive weakness, and too high operating expenses." This condition must be remedied before we get too far.

Recognizing these things, the tribe recently has decided upon the employment of the largest firm of corporation lawyers in Wisconsin, which firm has almost unlimited experience in Wisconsin corporate practice and business knowhow, to assist us and our tribal attorneys in perfecting a business organization in order that we can best protect and manage our economic resources as a credit to the tribe, the State, and the Nation. We of the Coordinating and Negotiating Committee have tirelessly explained the need for setting up our business enterprises under a trust form of management, so that we can take advantage of experienced management and knowhow through the formative years at least. The tribal membership has begun to reawaken and to move with us in a real effort to resolve the problems termination has brought to us. The voting on 3 important issues, namely, the form of local government to pertain after termination, the employment of special counsel indicated above, and a needful amendment of section 11 of the Termination Act to raise the stipulated age therein from 18 to 21 to comply with Wisconsin law (so that we can negotiate a single trust agreement with a Wisconsin trust bank for the administration and protection of minors' interests) showed overwhelming support. There are healthy indications that the tribe will go along with an overall trust form of management when we are ready to act upon the form of business organization to pertain after termination. It is my personal and considered opinion that we can reach termination in advance of the prospective statutory date to be established if no real setbacks are encountered. The action of April 30, 1958 of the Congressional

conference committee on H. R. 6322 is a real and portentous setback.

The tribe has been conditioned to meet some real tests and problems, it has progressed to that point on the belief that the Federal Government would bear the substantial share of termination expenses, as spelled out in Public Law 715, 84th Congress. Knowing these people as I do, with all their fears, inexperience, and suspicion born of their past experience, I know that their reaction to the report of the Conference Committee on H. R. 6322, if adopted, will be non-cooperation. I will stake my life's working reputation on that prediction. I will go to the people and try to overcome this reaction, but cannot promise favorable results. I hope that the Members of Congress will consider this appeal and take the following action:

1. Leave the date for submission of plans at February 1, 1959 (March 31, 1959, is preferable).
2. Leave the date for final termination at December 31, 1960, but
3. Restore the full reimbursement of termination costs provision, at least up to \$275,000 as appears in the report of the Conference Committee.

I personally and unequivocally assure the Congress that we will work with all our remaining strength to meet these suggested provisions if adopted. The tribe has not been wasteful with respect to termination costs. The Coordinating and Negotiating Committee has been extremely careful with funds available to it, so that all its expenditures will stand scrutiny when examined. When this delegation now in Washington came in, our main objective was to sit down with representatives of the Indian Bureau and the Department of the Interior to get some understandings on termination progress and agreements on planning so that we could go back to the tribe reinforced with agreements. We expected no difficulty with respect to H. R. 6322. We did not know a conference date had been set.

In closing, I repeat that I took this task at considerable sacrifice, interruption of personal plans, and at considerable heartache to my family and myself to help my people out of a difficult situation. I have dedicated every effort to it and will so continue as long as needed. I sincerely hope that the Congress will abide in faith with us.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGE W. KENOTE,  
Chairman, Menominee Coordinating  
and Negotiating Committee.

#### VIEWS OF FORMER GOV. CHARLES A. SPRAGUE ON KLAMATH RESERVATION PURCHASE BILL

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, inasmuch as the Senate will soon debate Senate bill 3051, the Klamath Reservation purchase bill, I believe the pages of the RECORD should contain a fine article on this subject by ex-Gov. Charles A. Sprague, of the State of Oregon.

Mr. Sprague's article appeared in the Oregon Daily Statesman of Salem, Oreg., of which he is the editor, for May 2, 1958. It gives support to the Klamath purchase bill, which has just been reported favorably by the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, of which I have the honor to be the chairman.

Although Mr. Sprague served as a Republican Governor of Oregon, his article pays tribute to the hard and effective work put forth in behalf of passage of Senate bill 3051 by our friend and colleague the junior Senator from Oregon [Mr. NEUBERGER].



I ask unanimous consent that the article by former Gov. Charles A. Sprague be printed in the body of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

(By Charles A. Sprague)

Washington, the National Capital, is just recovering from an unusually bad winter. Snow and cold hung on into spring, and rains and cool weather persisted. The cherry blossoms for which the city is famed were pretty well washed out this year, but the first of this week the dogwood, white and pink, and other flowering shrubs were blooming, and tall yellow tulips lined the walks leading to the White House entrance, like soldiers in files. Summer will not be far behind a foreshortened spring.

I wanted first to check with Senator NEUBERGER on his progress with the Seaton bill to modify the law on termination of Federal administration of the Klamath Tribe. This bill would change the present law which requires the management specialists to sell off at public sale, without conditions, assets of the tribe to satisfy the shares of those electing to withdraw (over 77 percent). The Interior Department bill offered by Secretary Seaton specifies that sales must be made at certain prices and purchasers must agree to manage the forest lands under sustained yield plans. If purchasers do not buy on these terms then the Government is to acquire the lands at those prices and they would become part of the national forests. Senator NEUBERGER dropped his own bill calling for direct Government purchase and is the principal backer of the Seaton measure.

Tuesday the Senate Committee on Interior and Indian Affairs met and gave its approval of the bill by a unanimous vote. This was a notable achievement for NEUBERGER. It lends hope that the Senate will pass the bill and that the House will follow with its approval. The bipartisan effort paid off. NEUBERGER worked on his colleagues of both parties, and had the full support of Senator ARTHUR WATKINS, Republican, of Utah. Hatfield Chilson, Under Secretary of the Interior, also was active in support of the bill.

If this measure becomes law the Klamath Indians will receive full appraised value for their assets. Management under a sustained yield program will prevent a rush to cut and market the fine pine timber on the reservation, which would have glutted the market and in the end left a timber barren over the old reservation. From a resource standpoint as well as from that of fair dealing with the Indians, this is one of the most important local measures to come before this session of the Congress.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PROXMIER in the chair). The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### LIMITATION OF APPELLATE JURISDICTION OF THE SUPREME COURT

Mr. HENNINGS, Mr. President, during the some 6 weeks of debate in the Committee on the Judiciary relating to S. 2646, a bill to limit and, in five areas, originally, to take away jurisdiction from the Supreme Court of the United States,

there have been many comments by the proponents of the measure which was ordered reported by the committee, by vote of 10 to 5, as to the sentiments and views of one of the most distinguished jurists in the United States, a man whom I revered at a distance as a boy studying law. I have seen no reason not to continue to admire him, his views, his character, and his ability, for he is, as his name would signify, a learned man—Judge Learned Hand. Happily, the bill has been to some extent amended in the committee.

Since the proponents of the bill have suggested that Judge Learned Hand was in favor of this violent and rather radical departure from what I consider to be our traditional separation of powers of the Government of the United States, I should like to read the letter which I have in my hand from Judge Learned Hand so that it will appear in the RECORD at this point. The letter reads:

UNITED STATES COURTHOUSE,  
JUDGE LEARNED HAND'S CHAMBERS,

May 5, 1958.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I have your letter of May 2 with its enclosure. Being still a United States judge, although retired, I should be unwilling to give any opinion on the constitutional questions raised by sections I, II, and IV of the proposed statute. I do not feel the same compunction, however, in expressing my opinion that such a statute if enacted would be detrimental to the best interests of the United States. It seems to me desirable that the Court should have the last word on questions of the character involved. Of course, there is always the chance of abuse of power wherever it is lodged, but at long last the least contentious organ of Government generally is the Court. I do not, of course, mean that I think it is always right, but some final authority is better than unsettled conflict.

I fear that this will not be much value to you, but for what it may be worth I am sending it.

Sincerely yours,

LEARNED HAND.

#### CURRENT RAILROAD PROBLEMS

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, quietly, but with his typical energy and efficiency, the distinguished Junior Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] has presided over a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce which held hearings on the current problems of the railroads, and has now issued a report on this matter.

I am sure my colleagues will agree with me that the report is the type of statesmanlike job one would expect from the able Senator from Florida, and I congratulate him.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Call for Broad-Scale Rail Relief," published in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of May 1, 1958.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### THE SMATHERS COMMITTEE REPORTS—CALL FOR BROAD-SCALE RAIL RELIEF

Recommendations made yesterday by the Senate Commerce Subcommittee propose far-

reaching remedy to help the financially oppressed railroads of the Nation.

Chairman GEORGE SMATHERS said the bill outlined in his report is designed to avert a catastrophe in the transportation system. If adopted by Congress it should, indeed, accomplish that end. Certainly it would sturdily bolster the position of our crippled rail industry.

The subcommittee proposals embrace, in general, the sound suggestions of the President's railroad program, enunciated a week ago. But they go further, significantly further.

The Smathers group urges prompt abandonment of the 3-percent excise tax on freight and the 10-percent excise levy on passenger traffic. This undoubtedly should be done.

These imposts were drafted upon railroads during World War II, largely to discourage unnecessary travel. It is in the nature of a punitive tax, no longer justified at all.

The Senate subcommittee also seeks to limit the exemption now enjoyed by truckers of agricultural commodities. The administration advised only against expanding such exemptions.

Other areas in which the Smathers committee went beyond the Eisenhower program were in calling for a provision that would enable common carriers to set aside a construction reserve fund, as a means of obtaining tax deferrals on continuous, long-term improvement programs; a recommendation to permit realistic depreciation allowance on rail equipment; a suggestion that charges for carrying mail be put on a more equitable basis.

Students of the railroads' complex, fast deteriorating situation will find these proposals bear a stamp of fair and practical remedy.

We believe Congress should address itself to the additional relief plans, set out by the Smathers group, with dispatch and a sense of serious obligation.

As did the President, the Senate's subcommittee also urged creation of a \$700 million federally guaranteed loan fund for railroads—\$550 million for plant and equipment and \$150 million for operation capital. The administration plan was for the same amount of loan guarantee, but for equipment and freight cars.

The Ike and committee plans both plumped for more flexibility, under Interstate Commerce Commission law, in cutting rates to meet competition of barges and truckers—for authority to abandon unprofitable train schedules—for a clamp-down on gypsy truckers.

These recommendations were sought by railroads in long hearings before the Smathers' group. They are supported by radically changed conditions that have clobbered railroads—basically essential to America's transportation system—through outmoded ICC regulation which puts them at disadvantage in efforts to meet trucking, barge and air competition.

No mention was made in the Smathers report of a use tax for transport on waterways, or in the air. Nothing was said about labor featherbedding or union demands which depress railroad fiscal stability.

These issues are real and need consideration. Perhaps a policy study group, which the subcommittee advised to survey transportation policies and report in 18 months, could go into these matters.

The Smathers committee program is more comprehensive and more in hard perspective than the President's recommendations. Both have put a significant pressure of public thought into the attack on the country's rail hazards.

Now let Congress roll up its sleeves and dig into the job. The needed relief schedule should be passed not merely for the railroads but for the Nation's economic health.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that another editorial on the same subject, entitled "Relief for the Rails," published in the New York Daily News of May 2, 1958, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### RELIEF FOR THE RAILS

A Senate Surface Transportation Subcommittee (chairman, Senator GEORGE A. SMATHERS, Democrat, of Florida) came up Wednesday with an eight-point plan for helping the Nation's railroads.

The Smathers blueprint goes further than the Eisenhower Administration proposals made public last week.

Under this scheme, Federal excises on railroad freight and passenger transportation would be repealed. Up to \$700 million in Government-backed loans would be made available to build or repair roadbeds, buy rolling stock, help pay operating expenses, etc. The Interstate Commerce Commission's grip on the railroads would be loosened to some extent.

The Smathers report also bluntly advises States and cities to reexamine the heavy taxes they have long levied on railroads, and with equal bluntness suggests that the railway unions taper off on the featherbedding.

We think Congress had better get busy considering this plan, with a view to early and favorable action.

Some of the railroads unquestionably are in bad trouble; and, as Senator SMATHERS warns, "if they go under, they will drag many others with them, all to the detriment of our overall economy."

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I ask to have printed in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks another editorial on the same subject, entitled "Helping the Railroads," published in the New York Times of May 4, 1958.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### HELPING THE RAILROADS

The report on the problems of our railroads and means of helping solve those problems which has been issued by Senator SMATHERS' subcommittee is to be welcomed as a step in the right direction. It recognizes that the economic conditions of our railroad system—particularly of some eastern railroads which are said to be threatened by bankruptcy—are extremely grave, and the report is more realistic than the recent administration proposals in this field.

It is a particular virtue of this report that it raises explicitly the widely discussed possibility that the railroad system of this country may collapse financially and require nationalization. And in raising this dire possibility, the report warns that if this should happen the Government will have to take steps to assure that railroads are run more efficiently and economically than at present, particularly with respect to the featherbedding practice of railroad labor.

But constructive and helpful as many of the specific recommendations are, the report itself does not go adequately to one of the key roots of the problem. Our system of railroad regulation has a long history, going back to the time when railroads enjoyed far more nearly monopoly advantages than they do today. Many of the ills of the railroads are due to the competition of the airplane, the truck, and the private automobile, yet our national transportation policy takes this actual competitive situation poorly into account.

The railroads must be helped to survive, because they still are and will be for the

indefinite future a vital component of our transport system. But is it not time to take a new, comprehensive look at our national transportation facilities and to develop a new, integrated approach to Government regulation of these mediums? And in taking such a new look should not our bias be toward securing a system of regulations which will give the managers of these transportation mediums maximum freedom to run their affairs in the light of the now abundant competitive factors operating in the market for the movement of goods and persons?

Mr. SYMINGTON. Finally, I ask to have printed in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks an editorial entitled "Railroads on Relief," published in the Washington Post and Times Herald of May 5, 1958.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### RAILROADS ON RELIEF

The Senate Surface Transport Subcommittee, headed by Senator SMATHERS, has produced a thoughtful and comprehensive program to give the ailing railroads both emergency and long-term relief. Although the subcommittee urges more in the way of loan guarantees and a broader liberalization of ratemaking rules than the administration favors, there is now the prospect of widely based bipartisan support for measures which the railroads really need quite desperately.

It is encouraging that the Smathers subcommittee, despite its lack of legislative jurisdiction over revenue matters, went beyond the administration to urge tax relief, both by elimination of the transportation tax and by liberalization of depreciation policies. We are inclined to agree with the administration, as a matter of principle, that such reforms should be considered along with other tax changes. But the recommendation of the Smathers group does not preclude this while at the same time it puts a needed special emphasis on a particularly acute situation.

It may be questioned whether the subcommittee's proposal for Government guaranty of loans to meet operating expenses, as well as to finance plant and equipment outlays, is altogether wise. Assistance in meeting operating costs ought not to be necessary if the tax changes, capital outlay loans and ratemaking reforms are well devised and promptly utilized. But the very fact that so extraordinary a measure of relief is seriously proposed after a careful, 3-month study is testimony to the truly grim situation which many Eastern roads, in particular, are facing.

In dealing with the short-term emergency aspects of the Smathers subcommittee proposals, Congress can afford to err on the side of generosity. It will want to examine with care the new, more competitive ratemaking climate, as between railroads and other forms of transportation, which would result from some of the subcommittee's long-range reforms. But in general we think transportation has suffered from too many built-in rigidities and that a large dose of freewheeling enterprise is in order.

#### RESIGNATION OF MAXWELL RABB AS SECRETARY OF THE CABINET

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, many of us regret Max Rabb leaving the White House staff.

Mr. Rabb has gone out of his way to be especially courteous and helpful to many of us on the legislative side of the Government, for which I know my colleagues as well as myself are very grateful.

I ask unanimous consent that an article on this subject, written by Andrew Tully, of the Scripps-Howard newspapers, and published in the Washington Daily News of April 26, 1958, be inserted at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### RABB WORKED WELL BEHIND THE SCENES

(By Andrew Tully)

Max Rabb is quitting his two White House jobs and although his name may stump the average citizen, it is one that may well find itself in the footnotes of history.

As Secretary of the Cabinet and Associate Counsel to President Eisenhower, Maxwell Milton Rabb got few headlines.

Yet since 1953 he has been one of the most effective voices in recent years in the cause of civil rights.

Mr. Rabb's big job was the problem of the Nation's minorities.

He didn't solve it, but under his aggressive sponsorship the White House took some giant strides in that direction.

For one thing, it wiped out all remaining traces of segregation at military establishments. For another, it ended segregation in the District.

#### FROM SCRATCH

When Mr. Rabb took over his assignment, most Washington movie theaters either admitted no Negroes or seated them in special sections.

Mr. Rabb made no public announcements nor promises. Instead, he called in the theater owners and politely told them about the new administration's policy.

He went to New York and Hollywood and appealed directly to the industry's leaders.

There was considerable resistance, and some public hollering on the part of the industry.

But Max Rabb kept his mouth shut, except in private sessions with industry leaders, and within a little more than a year segregation in theaters had been ended without a court fight.

Meanwhile, Mr. Rabb was pushing the administration's immigration policies, mostly in after-hour sessions with Members of Congress.

The result was passage of the extremely controversial Refugee Relief Act of 1953—a bill opposed by some of the most influential legislators on Capitol Hill.

#### A FIRST

Max Rabb also will go down in the history books as the Nation's first Secretary of the Cabinet—President Eisenhower created the job shortly after he took office to help streamline Cabinet procedures.

Mr. Rabb will leave the middle of next month to join the New York law firm of Strock, Strock & Lavan.

But there's little doubt he'll be back in the White House from time to time. President Eisenhower made that plain in his "Dear Max" letter accepting Mr. Rabb's resignation, when he said he would "put to good use," his aid's offer to help out in the future.

#### THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST CANCER

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the body of the RECORD a statement prepared by myself upon the subject of the campaign against cancer.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### STATEMENT BY SENATOR ERVIN

We have just seen the close of a month-long campaign to raise money to fight can-



cer. Funds obtained will go to institutions where scientists and researchers have spent months, years, and even entire careers in painstaking, arduous efforts to find the cause of cancer.

I would like to commend all who contributed funds. I would particularly like to salute our scientists who continue their work in this field. Their task is most difficult because there may be, as some experts have indicated, as many as 700 kinds of cancer.

All mankind hopes for an early breakthrough.

A pure scientific approach to the problem is followed by some 10,000 dedicated specialists now doing cancer research. Unfortunately, there is a handful of men in the field who circumvent this approach.

I speak specifically of those who continue their attacks on cigarette smoking.

These are the men who make most of the headlines—men who are trying to “cure cancer through publicity.” They are the ones who say flatly they know the cause of lung cancer—cigarettes.

As I have mentioned, scientists say that there may be as many as 700 kinds of cancer. Although they are hopeful of an early breakthrough, these same experts state that they do not know what causes cancer—any kind of cancer.

Why is it that while thousands labor to find the answer, a few point to cigarettes as the cause of lung cancer?

Is it because millions of Americans get relaxation and pleasure from smoking, and that these few men know any attack on cigarettes will provide headlines and headlines help fund drives?

We do not object to fund raising. We are for it. It will be money and scientists which will defeat cancer. But we do feel that a cure for cancer will come sooner if all research is truly scientific.

The key individuals behind most of the anticigarette publicity during the past few years have based their presentations and press releases primarily upon an alleged relationship between lung cancer and smoking statistics.

The truly objective researcher knows that statistics always require careful evaluation. This is the premise used by Dr. Joseph Berkson, head of the division of biometry and medical statistics at the Mayo Clinic, an internationally recognized medical statistician.

I should like to quote from a report prepared recently for the Journal of the American Statistical Association by Dr. Berkson: “Cancer is a biologic, not a statistical, problem. Statistics can soundly play an ancillary role in its elucidation. But if biologists permit statisticians to become the arbiter of biologic questions, scientific disaster is inevitable.”

Dr. Berkson has reference here to a statistical study carried out under the direction of Dr. E. Cuyler Hammond and Dr. Daniel Horn, director and assistant director, respectively, of the American Cancer Society's statistical research division. The study concerned the smoking habits of 188,000 men from 50 to 70 years old.

The statistical survey said that out of 7,316 observed deaths, there were 2,665 “excess deaths” among men with a history of regular smoking. In other words, the sample total showed that there would have been only 4,651 deaths if there had been no difference between the men who smoked and those who did not smoke.

Dr. Berkson says an examination of the Hammond-Horn analysis of the 2,665 excess deaths shows “that of the total estimated excess deaths attributed to regular cigarette smoking, only 13.5 percent were from lung cancer.”

“In other words, the Hammond-Horn statistics show that only a small percentage of the excess deaths is directly attributable to lung cancer, whereas as much as 86.5 percent

of these excess deaths were the result of other diseases that cannot be directly attributed to the effect of smoking on the lungs,” Dr. Berkson states.

“The existence in the data of association between smoking and death rate from many categories of cause of death other than lung cancer, and indeed chiefly with these other categories,” Dr. Berkson continued, “raises a serious challenge to the explanation that the statistical association observed between smoking and lung cancer has a direct causal basis. Some physical explanation must be found for the other associations, unless statistics are to be exposed to the charge of scientific irresponsibility.”

“For myself, I find it quite incredible that smoking should cause all these diseases. It appears to me that some other explanation must be formulated for the multiple statistical associations found with so wide a variety of disease.”

Dr. Berkson states one explanation for the increase in all the various categories is that “persons who are nonsmokers, or relatively light smokers are of a constitutional type that is biologically disposed to self-protective habits, and that this is correlated generally with constitutional resistance to mortal forces from disease.”

“If 85 to 95 percent of a population are smokers, then the small minority who are not smokers would appear, on the face of it, to be some special type of constitution. It is not implausible that they should be, on the average, relatively longevous, and this implies that death rates generally in this segment of the population will be relatively low.”

“When an investigation set up to test the theory, suggested by evidence previously obtained, that smoking causes lung cancer, turns out to indicate that smoking causes or provokes a whole gamut of diseases,” Dr. Berkson declares, “inevitably it raises the suspicion that something is amiss.”

Many of our dedicated scientists have indicated that something is amiss in this attack on cigarettes.

One such scientist is Dr. William Francis Reinhold, Associate Professor of Surgery, Johns Hopkins Hospital, who states:

“I submit that we must demand evidence—and despite the millions of dollars poured into cancer research, there is no evidence, statistically or clinically, that confirms any association between cigarette smoking and lung cancer.”

The scientific researcher knows that the history of medicine is punctuated with incidents in which the cause of a particular disease was positively accepted, on statistical evidence, by leading professionals in the medical field. All too frequently this statistical link was proved false when more extensive research was completed, and when an entirely unrelated cause for the disease was revealed.

It was just a few short years ago that cancer was linked with aluminum cooking dishes. Now scientists have proved this does not happen. Aluminum is quite inert and under the most rigid analysis aluminum ware does not in the slightest degree enter into any chemical reaction with foodstuffs.

From all indications, the publicity campaign which attempts to convict smoking without benefit of judge or jury—without the evidence of our best scientific minds—this distortion of statistics will grow more lopsided as time goes on.

Why? Because fund-raising has become a very necessary business—but also a very big business. The need to dramatize a story can color the actual facts of that same story. Because we all look forward to the time when this modern-day plague will be understood and eliminated, let us not hold back the real, unbiased scientists in their efforts, first, to find the cause of cancer and, second, the cure of cancer—let us not cloud research with symbols of fear.

## WORLD TRADE IS LOCAL TRADE

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, the following statement appeared in this month's Greater Minneapolis magazine published by the Minneapolis Area Chamber of Commerce:

The Minnesota World Trade Association views with utmost importance the passage of legislation currently before Congress providing for 5-year extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. The advent of the European common market, high unemployment at home, and simple, good sense make any other course unwise.

Let me interpolate at this point that I concur fully in that statement. I am in full support of the President's reciprocal trade agreement program, and I commend the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce for having made this specific statement and for having taken a stand on the question.

This simple, good sense is well-documented in this issue of the Greater Minneapolis magazine devoted to the concept that reciprocal trade is an asset to the State of Minnesota. Articles written by leading businessmen in the Minneapolis area spell out the reasons why the board of directors of the Minneapolis Area Chamber of Commerce in January of this year endorsed the proposal for an extension of the Trade Agreements Act for a 5-year period.

I endorse these views, Mr. President, and I ask unanimous consent that these articles be printed at this point in the Record as part of my remarks, and that they be referred to the appropriate committee for consideration.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, and referred to the Committee on Finance, as follows:

### WORLD TRADE IS LOCAL TRADE

(By Harry R. Hall, executive vice president, Minneapolis Area Chamber of Commerce)

In January 1958, the board of directors of the Minneapolis Area Chamber of Commerce approved a recommendation of the Congressional action committee to endorse the proposal for extension of the Trade Agreements Act for a 5-year period. The chamber's policy statement on the Trade Agreements Act is:

“The Minneapolis Area Chamber of Commerce endorses a renewal for not less than 5 years, of the reciprocal trade agreement program, based on the following reasons:

“The Trade Agreements Act inaugurated in 1934 has been successful in promoting international trade throughout the world and resulted in record levels of exports and imports.

“United States exports, amounting to over \$20 billion, is an essential part of a thriving and growing United States economy.

“The Trade Agreements Act fosters private foreign investment through which United States receives nearly 25 percent of its imports.

“The rest of the world moves toward freer trade as evidenced by the European market concept.

“A 5-year extension of the Trade Agreements Act is needed to permit the United States to undertake the single most important foreseeable trade negotiation—that with the six common market countries on their common external tariff.

“The St. Lawrence Seaway will open up new opportunities for world trade in our area.

"According to United States Department of Commerce estimates, Minneapolis exports amount to over \$50 million annually with annual imports of \$25 million.

"Some 25,000 Minneapolis employees depend on import-export business for their livelihood."

Since the adoption of this official policy, the chamber's world trade study group of the congressional action committee has been working aggressively to gain support for this act. Detailed information on the position of the chamber was presented to the entire Minnesota Congressional delegation. The chamber's official letter of transmittal was read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by Senator HUMPHREY. Both Senator THYE and Senator HUMPHREY and the three Representatives from the Minneapolis metropolitan area have committed themselves as being in favor of extension of the Trade Agreements Act.

The basic facts on the Trade Agreements Act were sent to the entire membership of the chamber, urging each member to make his position known to the proper Congressional officials. Copies of letters coming to the chamber office are indicative of strong support for this legislation.

The Minneapolis Area Chamber of Commerce served as one of the sponsors for the National Conference of Organizations on International Trade Policy held in Washington on March 27.

Max Rappaport, a member of the board, testified for the bill before the House Committee on Ways and Means.

This vigorous activity by this chamber committee illustrates the value of the organized action in working for the best interests of the community. The Trade Agreements Act may sound remote and unrelated to the average person, but it has a direct relation to jobs in the Minneapolis area. The purpose of the committee's action is to inform the public in general so that its importance can be related directly to the individual wage earner and its effect on the overall economy of the community.

The March issue of Economic Intelligence, published by the economic research department of the chamber of commerce of the United States, has a clearly stated discussion on alternatives to exports. It is given here in full to emphasize further the need for expression of opinion by local businessmen. The statement as published is:

"There are only a few possible ways to finance or offset the present \$6 billion export surplus and any future surplus of United States exports above imports. The realistic alternatives are:

"(1) Foreign countries can raise their barriers against American products and reduce our exports to attempt to correct their external financial problems. This is most likely to happen if we raise our barriers against their products. This would increase any unemployment problems we now suffer and deny foreign markets to our most efficient producers.

"(2) Our foreign aid can be maintained or increased; that is, we can give away money which in effect does pay for some of our present export surplus and would help pay for any increased levels of United States production sold in foreign markets.

"(3) Loans to foreign producers or governments can be maintained or increased. The United States Government can loan dollars directly or indirectly by contributing funds to international lending agencies. However, unless loans are to be extended indefinitely they must, in the future, be repaid and other countries must be able to earn enough dollars for principal and interest charges. In fact, lending abroad now suggests that in the future it may be necessary for the United States to encourage an import surplus.

"(4) Private foreign investment is another way to help finance an export surplus. But if United States investment is to continue to make extra dollars available to foreign countries, there must be reasonable assurances that the earnings on such investments can be brought home and that this capital will not be permanently "locked-in" abroad or nationalized. Such conditions are possible only if the foreign countries can maintain satisfactory international financial balances—for instance, by exporting to dollar areas."

This issue of Greater Minneapolis is dedicated to a better understanding of the value of world trade to our local economy, with the sincere hope that this information will provide ideas to expand markets and job opportunities for more people.

#### WORLD TRADE'S YEAR OF DECISION

(The following report is condensed from a speech delivered at the Chicago World Trade Conference, February 28, 1958, by A. B. "Shang" Sparboe, vice president of Pillsbury's overseas division. Sparboe is a member of the foreign commerce committee of the United States Chamber of Commerce; director of the National Foreign Trade Council; member of the world trade advisory committee of the United States Department of Commerce; chairman of the export advisory committee of the Millers National Federation; and vice president of the Minnesota World Trade Association. His company is the world's largest exporter of flour and flour products.)

Since the beginning of time, the world always seems to have been dominated by some one strong country or a small coalition of strong countries. Invariably they had one thing in common: They always were the leading foreign traders of their period.

It is also a matter of record that the nations which dominated world affairs for the longest periods of time were not necessarily those with the largest populations, but rather those inclined to develop mutually satisfactory trade relations with other countries during time of peace.

Before we can deal adequately with the present hostility in some circles toward more liberal trading policies, we must understand "how come" there can be such serious conflicts in economic beliefs, which have no respect whatsoever for political, social, geographic or racial dimensions. A possible explanation is that we tend to look at such problems through three different pairs of eyes, representing those of a worker, taxpayer, and consumer. When a proposition is viewed as adversely affecting our own job, automatically we are opposed to it. On the other hand, if it affects only the "other fellow," we are inclined to raise our sights to see how we are affected as a taxpayer or consumer.

For example, let's take three mythical characters—Bill, Joe, and Mike. Bill makes wooden clothespins, and his job is threatened by imports, so it is perfectly natural for Bill to favor protection against clothespins from Sweden; whereas Joe, and Mike, as consumers, are opposed to raising the duties of clothespins, since this would raise their cost of living. Joe helps to manufacture bicycles, which makes him favor raising the duty on British bicycles, or perhaps establishing an import quota, to enhance his job. This time Bill, and Mike gang up on Joe, opposing anything likely to raise the price of bicycles, which they know they will soon have to buy for their youngsters. Mike is a bartender, and he doesn't care whether the people he serves beer work at jobs that are affected or not affected by imports, just as long as they come in for their beer. His attitude toward imports, duties, etc., is one of comparative indifference, but when compelled to take a

stand, he tends to view such matters through the eyes of a consumer.

Now let's complicate this comparison of interests some more by introducing an exporter into the picture, who has a product that many foreign markets want, and a product that can readily be sold at a profit without any public subsidy. For perfectly obvious reasons, this exporter is strongly opposed to raising the duties on either Swedish clothespins or English bicycles, realizing that those countries will not have dollars to pay for his exports unless they earn the dollars from their exports to his country. Now how are we going to reconcile this four-way clash of interests?

As it is utterly impossible to give all four men their own way, it becomes a matter of determining the best compromise that will generate the greatest economic activity (jobs) along with the highest possible competitive profits and at the lowest possible costs to the consuming public, of which we all are a part.

In spite of the overwhelming evidence favoring not only continuation, but also maximum expansion of foreign commerce, there are those who persist in advocating contraction of foreign trade, relying largely on the emotional, yet completely erroneous, argument that this would save domestic jobs and even increase them.

What jobs? Such people very skillfully avoid mentioning that far more export jobs would thereby be destroyed. Surely it takes no intellectual giant to choose between a comparatively few unprofitable domestic jobs seeking protection against imports at extra cost to consumers, as against the export jobs that neither need nor ask the consumer for any such subsidy, but in addition, create profits.

Competent analysts venture the opinion that, even though all of our duties were eliminated entirely, it is very doubtful that 100,000 nonfarm domestic jobs could possibly be lost to imports; whereas four and a half million whole families look to our foreign commerce for their livelihood.

Fear of competition from abroad is not something peculiar only to Uncle Sam. Other countries suffer similar apprehension, even on a greater scale because of the low costs we so often have as a result of mass production and related advantages. If all countries get buck fever and set up fences, tending to create scores of small protected markets, all countries are bound to lose critically. What we really need is protection against the protectionists.

Failure of Congress to renew the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act would be a complete tragedy for ourselves and other countries, and bring nothing but chaos to foreign commerce.

#### BRITAIN IS MINNESOTA'S SECOND LARGEST CUSTOMER

Heavy electrical equipment, plumbers' oakum, knitting machines, measuring instruments, spring-back binders, and whisky dispensers are just a few of the more unusual British products which find their way in volume into the great distributing center served by Minneapolis.

Eugene H. Harrison, British vice consul (commercial) who is attached to the British consulate in St. Paul, will tell you that Great Britain is Minnesota's second largest customer after Canada and that in turn it buys such commodities as meat products, electrical machinery, iron and steel products, wheat and wheat products, and soya beans from this area.

"The year 1956 saw us purchasing some \$172 million worth of wheat products alone from this area. We sell to you many staple items such as men's footwear, tweeds, bone china, Scotch whisky, etc., but are also procuring business for unusual items such as the large order for electrical machinery



which we sold to the Garrison Dam, milling machinery, solder and even fish."

Some of the other unusual items Great Britain sold to this country include radio-isotopes, and thyroid powder. In 1957 the sale of British-made autos almost doubled. And within the past few years Britain sold Capital Airlines some \$60 million worth of turbo-prop airplanes.

The British consulate in St. Paul offers a comprehensive service to businessmen in this area to promote what Harrison terms "two-way trade—United Kingdom-Minnesota."

"We are, to my knowledge, the only consular office in the Twin Cities with a vice consul working entirely on promotion of trade. I am willing to go anywhere in the area to discuss trade between our two countries and to give help to local businessmen in their endeavors to do trade with United Kingdom or British Commonwealth firms. Or to importers who wish to bring in anything at all from Great Britain."

As a result of previous discussions, several leading local firms have subsidiaries in the United Kingdom or made arrangements for manufacture under license there which Harrison says are now eminently successful.

Direct importing to this area from the United Kingdom has increased tremendously during the last 4 or 5 years, he said. Department stores, wholesale distributors, manufacturers' agents and even small individual firms are now importing regularly and finding that they are much more successful and making more money by importing directly than by buying from some east or west coast importers.

"In the way of promotion we are most active," Harrison said. "We give speeches to many local organizations, appear on TV and radio, and for the last 4 years we have put on a British exhibit at the Minnesota State Fair."

During May 7-18 the British Consulate is taking part in the International Trade Show (part of the Festival of Nations at the St. Paul Auditorium) which is part of the Minnesota Centennial. During the last week of May the consulate is cooperating with the Southdale Shopping Center the local British Motor Cars Corp, distributor for a British Week.

Harrison said that if Minnesota businessmen wish to import direct the consulate can give them general information about importing the British merchandise they want. It will provide from its records the names of suitable British manufacturers or trade associations for them to contact.

Or if the Minnesota businessman prefers, the consulate will transmit his requirements to the Board of Trade, London, so that British manufacturers can make offers direct to him. If the Minnesotan is planning a business trip to Britain the consulate can help with background information about business and general conditions in Britain. Or it will advise the board of trade so that they can make preliminary investigations for him.

What a consulate cannot do, Harrison pointed out, is to take orders from a businessman or firm for a British firm, or place orders on the American's behalf in Britain.

#### FOREIGN COMMERCE TWO-WAY STREET FOR ARCHER-DANIELS-MIDLAND CO.

Wheat for India and whale oil from Peru. Coconut oil from the East Indies and soybean oil for Norway. Chemicals and foundry supplies for Spain and Italy and resins from the Congo.

For Archer-Daniels-Midland Co., which trades in these and hundreds of other commodities around the world, foreign commerce is a two-way street.

"Foreign trade is vital to Archer-Daniels-Midland Co. with its 150 plants and eleva-

tors scattered throughout the United States, and to our employees and our farm suppliers," says T. L. Daniels, president, who recently returned from a visit to Archer-Daniels-Midland Co.'s whaling operations in Peru.

"From abroad we must obtain the materials which we cannot produce economically in this country and we must sell abroad the products of our factories and the produce of our farms. In a sense, we are the salesmen for the American farmers and workers."

This Minneapolis company, one of the Nation's largest processors and merchandisers of agricultural commodities, has been engaged in foreign trade since its founding 56 years ago. It does business on every continent and its more than 1,000 products are sold in more than 60 countries.

Two years ago Archer-Daniels-Midland Co. embarked on an expansion of its foreign operations. Since then the company has established manufacturing facilities in six countries and has set up an office in the Netherlands to handle some of its global commodities transactions. An international division directs sales abroad of all Archer-Daniels-Midland Co. products except grain and wheat flour.

Archer-Daniels-Midland Co.'s foreign expansion in the past 2 years has included extension of manufacturing operations to Europe and Latin America as well as the licensing of foreign companies to use Archer-Daniels-Midland Co.'s technical know-how to make Archer-Daniels-Midland Co.'s products.

One of the first Archer-Daniels-Midland Co.'s moves abroad was the building of a formula feed plant in Mexico City. Later the company purchased an interest in another Mexico City feed plant.

Like all of Archer-Daniels-Midland Co.'s foreign expansions, these were made in association with local financial interests.

These Mexico City enterprises illustrate the benefits United States capital and know-how can bring to underdeveloped foreign areas.

"Improved animal feeding is badly needed in Mexico," says Daniels. "The need for a modern feedstuff industry is linked closely with the advancement of better agricultural marketing and improved human nutrition. At present, Mexican nutritional levels are considerably below the United States average and need to be increased 50 percent. The Mexican diet is particularly lacking in dairy products and in proteins of animal origin."

Archer-Daniels-Midland Co.'s overseas expansion was rapid in 1957. Acting each time in partnership with local businessmen, the Minneapolis company purchased an interest in a plant that manufactured resins and plasticizers at Zwolle, The Netherlands. With Dutch and German interests, a similar plant was built at Ruhle, West Germany.

In cooperation with a subsidiary of Petrofina, the world-wide Belgian oil company, Archer-Daniels-Midland Co. is constructing a chemical plant near Brussels. An interest was purchased in an existing chemical company at Bilbao, Spain, and production facilities there were expanded.

At Paita, Peru, Archer-Daniels-Midland Co. and Peruvian interests have built the world's most modern land-based whaling station. The station and three whale chaser vessels provide Archer-Daniels-Midland Co. with a dependable supply of sperm whale oil. The Minneapolis company is the world's largest processor of sperm whale oil.

The Peruvian whaling enterprise, unique in American industry, supplies crude sperm oil to Archer-Daniels-Midland Co.'s United States chemical plants, where it is transformed into oils and chemicals for scores of industries ranging from cosmetics to metalworking.

The other foreign manufacturing operations are substantial users of American agricultural products, such as soybeans. In

some cases these farm commodities may undergo basic processing in Archer-Daniels-Midland Co.'s United States plants, thus providing jobs for American workers. Even when the basic processing is not performed in this country, the foreign plants extend the market for United States farm products.

"This worldwide trade, whether in finished products or raw commodities, is essential to the welfare of American workmen, farmers and industry," said Daniels. "It provides more jobs for the workers, broadened markets for farm produce and stability for industry."

He pointed out that the export market is vital to upper Midwest agriculture and as an illustration cited the tripling of United States exports of soybeans and soybean oil from about 50 million bushels in 1950 to nearly 150 million in 1957.

#### THE INFLUENCE OF FOREIGN TRADE ON MINNESOTA

(By Dr. Ernest G. Booth, manager, Minneapolis office of Field Services, United States Department of Commerce)

The pattern of Minnesota's economy is such that the maintenance of sound, thriving, international commerce by the United States contributes to its prosperity to an unusually important degree.

Minnesota is a large producer of major agricultural and industrial export commodities; its manufacturing industries depend upon imported raw materials; it is a key center of railway, inland waterway, and highway transportation, and it has extensive commercial and financial interests benefited by foreign trade.

The export trade of other States has a direct influence on the prosperity of Minnesota and it produces a wide variety of commodities which are sold throughout the country. As the other States prosper by export trade they become better customers for goods produced in Minnesota.

There are no statistics available which give exact figures covering exports of goods produced in Minnesota. Nevertheless, there is impressive factual evidence which indicates that exports play a vital part in the industrial prosperity of the State and are responsible for the employment of many thousands of workers in high wage industries.

In January 1958, over 131,000, or about 63 percent of the total number of Minnesota workers in manufacturing industries were employed in the major industries producing goods which the United States exports in greater quantities than it imports. A substantial number of additional workers were employed in other export industries. Many of the remaining industrial workers were employed in enterprises which are particularly dependent upon the local prosperity of the State.

For example, there are nearly 5,000 workers in industries producing bakery items, and over 6,000 are employed in the printing and publishing of newspapers. The demand for these types of products has been increased considerably by the purchases made by the many workers employed in Minnesota export industries.

Table I contains statistics which illustrate in a striking manner the importance to the welfare of the State of 11 leading Minnesota industries producing goods which the United States exports in greater volume than it imports. These industries produce meat products; electrical machinery; apparel and related products; primary iron and steel products; tractors and farm machinery; service industry and household machines; dairy products; grainmill products; canned, preserved, and frozen foods; and construction and mining machinery.

In 1954 these industries employed nearly 81,000 Minnesota workers, who earned over

\$322 million in wages and salaries. The aggregate value added by manufacture of their production was over \$577 million. (Value added by manufacture is the total value of shipments, less the cost of materials, supplies, and containers, fuel, purchased electric energy, and contract work.)

Total United States exports of products of these industries were valued at \$4.2 billion in 1954 and over \$6.2 billion in 1956. Assuming that Minnesota shared in this national export trade proportionately to its importance as a producer, the value of exports of these commodities produced in Minnesota was somewhere in the neighborhood of \$70 million in 1954 and over \$105 million in 1956.

(This figure, and others given subsequently, covering the value of Minnesota exports and employment in production of export are rough estimates which give a general indication of magnitude. Estimates of exports are based on the assumption that Minnesota shared in United States exports in proportion to its relative importance as an employer of labor in the industry. Estimates of export employment are based on the ratio of estimated exports to total production.)

In addition to the 11 industries included in table I, there are many other industries in Minnesota which are on an export basis nationally and which make major contributions to the economic life of the State. These produce furniture and fixtures; transportation equipment; metal stampings and coatings; paperboard containers and boxes; industrial machinery; concrete and plaster products; toilet preparations; petroleum and coal products; metalworking machinery; vegetable and animal oils; and cutlery, hand tools, and hardware. Exports of these commodities probably added \$15 to \$20 million to Minnesota's exports reported in table I.

There are also many commodities manufactured in Minnesota which are used in the production of export goods. Among such products are machinery parts; automobile accessories and parts; electric motors; and chemical and allied products, together with machinery employed in the manufacture of exports. The production of such indirect exports probably provides employment for several thousand workers in the State.

Large United States exports of such commodities as iron and steel products, machinery, and motor vehicles increase the demand for iron ore and substantially benefit Minnesota's great iron-ore mines, which supplied about 80 percent of the domestic iron ore in 1957. Exports of products which contain iron mined in Minnesota are valued at many millions of dollars. In 1957 Minnesota produced over 79 million tons of iron ore and its mines employed over 20,000 workers.

In evaluating the benefits of exports to Minnesota, it should be remembered that exports make it possible for a company to spread its overhead costs and thus increase the profitability of its domestic business. This margin of profit at times accounts for the difference between profit and loss on all operations, and affects the employment of all workers in the enterprise.

Minnesota is an important producer of a number of major export commodities. The statistics in table II illustrate the importance of exports to the following leading Minnesota farm products: Corn, oats, wheat, soybeans, barley, hog and hog products, dairy products, and eggs and egg products.

United States exports of these commodities were valued at \$764 million in 1954 and over \$1.36 billion in 1956. A large proportion of the United States production of several of these products is normally sold abroad. Furthermore, an important part of the production of crops used as livestock feed is exported in the form of meat products.

The total value of the Minnesota production of the commodities listed in table II

was over \$1.06 billion in 1954. Exportation of these commodities benefits a large proportion of the individual farms in Minnesota. Corn, oats, hogs, dairy products, and eggs are produced on approximately three-fourths of the farms in the State. Bread grains, flaxseed, and soybeans are also produced on a large portion of the farms.

Our export trade also increases the domestic market for Minnesota agricultural products. Industrial production for export in Minnesota and all other States adds importantly to the employment, wages, and purchasing power in the cities and towns where Minnesota farm products are sold, and directly increases the prosperity of Minnesota farmers.

In addition to the Minnesota enterprises which produce exports, a larger number have a very important stake in moving, storing, and financing such goods.

Together, the cities of Duluth and Superior, Wis., share the westernmost harbor of the Great Lakes, through which passes much of the trade between northwestern United States and Canada. A large part of Duluth's business activities consists of operating docks, harbor, and storage facilities to handle the foreign trade and the east-bound shipment of iron ore and wheat. The Twin Cities are located at the head of navigation on the Mississippi and also constitute an important international aviation center.

Therefore, aside from the actual exporting and importing firms, such Minnesota estab-

lishments as railway companies, steamship lines, motor-transport concerns, warehouses, banks, insurance companies, custom brokers, and companies engaged in towage, lighterage, and other harbor services, all profit in a substantial way from this foreign trade.

Several thousand Minnesota workers in nonmanufacturing enterprises thus are directly dependent upon foreign trade for their livelihood. These include railroad engineers, brakemen, switchmen and mechanics, truckdrivers, office workers, warehouse employees, longshoremen, and sailors.

In 1947 there were more than 9,000 Minnesota workers who received excess of \$23 million in wages and salaries employed in certain nonmanufacturing industries for which statistics are available and a significant proportion of this employment is attributable to foreign trade. The figures are totals for the following industries: Trucking, special-product warehousing and storage, Great Lakes and oceanborne foreign trade, freight forwarding, packing, and crating, services auxiliary to water transportation, fire and marine insurance.

Practically every important industry in Minnesota is dependent upon imports to supply at least some of its essential raw materials. The principal large industries in Minnesota dependent upon imports are shown in table III. These industries in 1954 employed over 85,000 Minnesota workers, who received over \$369 million in wages and salaries, and the total value added by manufacture was \$740 million.

TABLE I.—Principal Minnesota industries manufacturing commodities important in United States export trade

[In thousands]

	Minnesota, 1954			United States exports	
	Number of employees	Wages and salaries	Value added by manufacture	1954 value	1956 value
1. Meat products.....	18,346	\$80,672	\$136,957	\$60,800	\$95,900
2. Electrical machinery.....	6,680	27,893	48,718	598,800	747,400
3. Apparel and related products.....	8,971	24,858	38,962	621,500	629,700
4. Primary metal industries.....	5,339	23,810	30,099	515,700	1,067,800
5. Tractors and farm machinery.....	5,404	21,586	41,228	403,900	417,600
6. Service industry and household machines.....	5,808	23,675	46,811	118,000	134,600
7. Dairy products.....	10,316	36,936	72,072	81,300	149,700
8. Grain-mill products.....	5,128	21,743	51,390	749,800	1,338,500
9. Canning, preserving, and freezing.....	2,328	6,841	17,722	271,600	370,600
10. Construction and mining machinery.....	2,959	13,741	21,627	447,500	786,600
Total.....	80,986	322,662	577,845	4,209,900	6,206,500

NOTE.—National employment in same categories: 4,537,276.

Source: Census reports.

TABLE II.—Principal Minnesota agricultural products important in United States export trade

	Minnesota		United States exports	
	Number of farms, 1954	Production 1954	1954 value	1956 value
Total number of farms.....	165,225			
Crops:				
Corn.....	126,101	\$340,864,685	\$130,363,000	\$182,406,000
Oats.....	126,704	111,262,816	975,000	21,682,000
Wheat.....		22,325,272	350,022,000	694,465,000
Soybeans.....	55,921	96,378,492	132,319,761	177,611,846
Flaxseed.....	29,235	25,561,000	24,417,496	32,056,220
Barley.....	22,837	29,925,912	27,279,000	91,483,000
Livestock and products:				
Hogs <sup>1</sup> .....	97,529	\$ 172,275,595	101,000	532,000
Dairy products.....	115,021	198,700,310	81,329,000	149,777,000
Eggs.....	105,267	65,786,901	17,237,000	19,246,000
Total.....		1,063,080,983	764,043,237	1,369,259,066

<sup>1</sup> On hand.

<sup>2</sup> Sales.

Source: Bureau of the Census reports.



TABLE III.—Selected Minnesota industries dependent in whole or in part on imported products, 1954

[Values in thousands of dollars]

Industries	Number of employees	Wages and salaries	Value added to product in manufacture	Imports important to industry	Tariff applicable ad valorem equivalent imports for 1949
Machinery, except electrical.....	23,492	\$99,930	\$178,174	Copper (except fabricated), tin, chrome, asbestos, eride rubber.....	Free
Electrical machinery.....	6,680	27,893	48,718	Nickel and alloys.....	3.9
Fabricated metal products.....	9,707	40,907	72,259	Zinc blocks, pigs, and slabs.....	7.8
Transportation equipment.....	6,832	31,165	63,452	Aluminum metal and alloys, crude.....	14.3
				Lead pigs and bars.....	8.5
				Antimony metal.....	3.0
				Mica, manufactured.....	17.9
Printing and publishing.....	19,450	\$5,808	138,625	Newsprint, tin.....	Free
Paper and allied products.....	15,428	71,226	173,960	Lead pigs and bars.....	8.5
				Antimony metal.....	3.0
Toilet preparations.....	1,141	4,251	50,658	Coconut oil from Philippines, lavender and spike-lavender oil, bergamot oil, rose oil or attar of roses, floral essences and concretes.....	Free
Leather and related products.....	1,599	5,307	8,070	Goat, kid, sheep, and lamb skins, raw.....	Free
Confectionery products.....	1,035	3,094	5,863	Quebracho extract.....	7.5
				Raw cane sugar.....	8.8
				Cocoa beans.....	Free
Total.....	85,384	360,581	739,779		

1 Internal revenue tax.

Source: Census reports and U. S. Tariff Commission.

The various Minnesota industries using iron and steel and fabricated metals are dependent upon imports, since the United States has practically no nickel or chromite and inadequate supplies of tin, tungsten, manganese, copper, and other essential raw materials. Minnesota printing and publishing industries rely upon large imports of newsprints and a steady supply of imports of secondary importance.

Imported coconut oil and lavender bergamot, rose, and other essential oils are used by manufacturers of toilet preparations. A large portion of the raw materials used by the Minnesota leather industry is supplied by imports because the American production of various hides, skins, and other materials is insufficient. As the United States does not grow the cacao bean, Minnesota manufacturers of confectionery products depend on imports to supply chocolate; imports of sugar are also needed to supplement domestic supplies.

As the bulk of factories in the State must have imported raw materials, industrial activity, prosperity, and employment in Minnesota are dependent upon imports. The standard of living of Minnesota citizens also is raised by imports. A large proportion of the manufactured goods they consume contain imported raw materials; without imports these goods either would not be available or would be of inferior quality.

Imported manufactured goods of particular types and varieties supplement domestic products and also increase the welfare of Minnesota consumers. Furthermore, there are many food products which the United States either does not produce at all or does not produce in adequate quantities. Imports of such products as coffee, tea, bananas, and cacao meet the demands of Minnesota consumers and raise their standard of living.

#### FAILURE TO RENEW TRADE ACT WOULD BRING CHAOS

(By A. B. Sparboe)

A. B. Sparboe, vice president of Pillsbury Mills, Inc., a staunch supporter of world trade, told the World Trade Conference at Chicago that failure of Congress to renew the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act would be a complete tragedy for ourselves and all

other countries and bring nothing but chaos to foreign commerce.

"This truly is a year of decisions for foreign traders to make sure that the public is adequately informed about the grave risks from failing to support our international and political goals with correspondingly international economic policies," he said.

In testifying before the House Ways and Means Committee on the renewal of the Trade Agreements Act, Sparboe declared the reciprocal trade agreements program is the means through which the United States is able to participate in cooperative measures to expand international trade by reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers on a mutually advantageous basis.

International trade is not only a powerful weapon for peace, Sparboe pointed out, but it is essential to the continued expansion of the economy of the United States. For it benefits the consumer, spurs long-term economic growth and conforms to the spirit of a free enterprise economy.

The reciprocal trade agreements program as a basic segment of United States foreign economic policy faces two new challenges, he said: the Soviet economic offensive and the establishment of the European common market. These bring new urgency for maintaining effective negotiating power and making the extension of this act even more imperative.

While not as dramatic as the missile race, Sparboe said the Soviet economic challenge is no less real as expanding Soviet imperialism is taking the form of a centrally directed state-finance drive for economic penetration of the underdeveloped areas.

"We have seen it happening recently in Egypt and Syria, in the Middle East and in Indonesia, in the Far East. Unless checked, it would happen elsewhere in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

"Millions of people, the oil of the Middle East, and the vast resources of Africa are in danger of being subverted or lost to the West. Attractive trade facilities are being offered—including barter. Moscow is sending trade missions to any country which will receive them, especially the countries uncommitted in the East-West struggle."

A rash of trade agreements between Communist nations and the Free World was concluded late in 1957, Sparboe said. Already

this year, a Soviet trade representative offered Asian nations long-term trade agreements in all basic commodities. The Soviet bloc sold \$2.1 billion worth of merchandise last year to the Free World, an increase of 70 percent in 4 years.

"It must be remembered that many of the countries friendly to the United States must trade to live. If they cannot trade with us on mutually agreeable terms, they will surely trade with others."

As to the European common market which became a reality on January 1, 1958, Sparboe said United States exports to the 6 European common market countries are running about \$3 billion a year. Our private direct investment in these countries already totals over \$1½ billion, with new direct investments (excluding reinvestment) taking place at an annual rate of about \$250 million.

The threat of being shut out of traditional European markets by high tariffs is of acute concern to United States businessmen, he declared: Gradual elimination of trade barriers among the six common market countries, coupled with the maintenance of a common tariff against the outside world, will place American exporters to the area at an increasing disadvantage vis-a-vis their competitors within these countries.

"Many leading United States industries plan a partial shift from exporting to the area to investing within the area, by setting up branches or subsidiaries in Europe or by licensing processes to existing European firms. In this way, United States firms can produce for the common market area and at the same time avoid the tariffs which may be imposed against our exports to the common market countries."

American investment will be attracted also by the advantages of large-scale operations in a new market of 160 million consumers, Sparboe declared.

But, he added, a continuing flow of United States foreign investment abroad cannot take place indefinitely unless earnings from such investments can be withdrawn in dollars. The longer-run solution must lie in expanded trade and the United States must be willing to import on a sufficient scale to enable other countries to meet dividend, interest, and amortization requirements, as well as to pay for the goods they currently buy from the United States.

Both the initial and long-range loss to the United States economy can be offset only by effectively bargaining with the common market on a reciprocal basis, Sparboe said. Representatives of the European economic common market have stated: "The European economic community stands ready to negotiate reductions in the common tariffs provided other countries meet us halfway."

Criticism of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, Sparboe said, has centered largely on the matter of serious injury to domestic industries by competitive imports. The extent to which American producers may be adversely affected by imports at a particular time cannot be precisely determined without a detailed analysis of the firms and product involved.

"While the producers who may be affected adversely by imports represent a relatively small segment of American production, they are none the less an important segment and the incidence of injury cannot be disregarded."

It is therefore vital, Sparboe declared, that a means for affording reasonable relief for injury to such producers be continued in the law. For this reason, he added, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States has stressed the need for the gradual and selective adjustment of tariffs, with provision for modification or withdrawal of concessions in order to deal with unforeseen developments seriously injurious to domestic producers.

"The chamber strongly urges that the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act be renewed in a form to assure the effective achievement of its objectives. Not to do so will be at our own peril."

**WORLD TRADE GROUP FAVORS 5-YEAR EXTENSION OF TRADE AGREEMENTS ACT**

(By Paul C. Sharp, president, Minnesota World Trade Association)

The President's Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, now under consideration, is an extremely vital issue, important to the national economy, national defense, and to the present and future welfare of each and every citizen.

Perhaps the importance of the extension of this Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act for another 5 years is recognized more fully by those directly associated with international trade. They are constantly confronted with the day-by-day exchange of goods between nations and the dire need for a continuation of these products in order to insure a sound economy and greater prosperity throughout the Free World.

The Minnesota World Trade Association is made up of some 250 members, all of whom are involved in international trade. They may be exporters, or they may be importers. They may be manufacturers of goods to be exported, or they may be insurance brokers, freight handlers, and banks. But whoever they may be, they can be considered as having a direct stake in the investment called international trade.

The association was established for very specific objects and purposes by the international traders of this area. It was formed to serve the interests of its members engaged in exporting, importing, and foreign investment. It was to be the means whereby there could be established a forum for the exchange of practical foreign trade information and experience among members and guests.

One of the important intentions of the association was to facilitate the expression of the members' views as a body on foreign trade legislation so that it could foster and encourage world trade, and a broader understanding of its importance to the United States and more specifically to this area and the State of Minnesota.

Recently the Minnesota World Trade Association unanimously passed a resolution favoring the 5-year continuation of the President's Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. It was decided that any failure for renewal or any modification of the act or any shortening of the effective period of at least 5 years would be disastrous and would vitally affect the economy of our Nation.

This resolution expresses the overall opinions of all members of the association. It was brought to the attention of the senatorial and Congressional leaders of Minnesota so these Government representatives would be aware of the wishes of this organized group of business men and women who are closely associated with international operations.

As an organization we urge each citizen of the State of Minnesota to submit to Members of Congress which represent him the importance for the renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act for at least another 5 years.

"Trade, not aid," is such a wornout phrase that its use can cause frustration among readers. Yet, we must all be extremely conscious of the important meaning it strives to portray. There is not one person, whether self-employed, or associated with a small or large organization, that irrespective of his position would escape entirely the ill effects of the defeat or modification of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act.

Anyone truly understanding the basic principles, and with the courage of their convictions, could not do other than support their Nation's future by insisting on the pas-

sage of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act for at least another 5 years.

There may be many persons who are interested to learn more about international trade. Meetings of the Minnesota World Trade Association take place the second Wednesday of each month. Guests are invited. Actual time and place is announced in advance or can be learned by contacting the secretary in care of the World Affairs Center at the University of Minnesota.

**THIS COUNTRY CAN'T GO IT ALONE**

(By Harry A. Bullis, chairman of the board, General Mills, Inc.)

The reciprocal trade agreements program of the United States has now more than become of age. The law was passed and approved on June 30, 1934. Agreements made under it have now been in effect for more than 21 years and the program has served the interests of our people very well.

In these uncertain times which are marked with difficulties in securing true world peace, the nations of the Free World should bear in mind Benjamin Franklin's admonition that they had better hang together, or they will hang separately. We in the United States do not have the margin of strength which can allow us to be indifferent to the needs of our allies.

Rather, we must strengthen and enlarge all trade economic bonds that may bind us together more firmly. History has amply demonstrated that the destinies of nations follow the course of trade. Thus our reciprocal trade agreements program is a crucial matter. It has become a cornerstone in our foreign policy.

It is our evidence that we intend to work, united and devotedly with the Free World, to develop a margin of economic strength over the Communist world. We cannot go it alone, nor can our allies prosper without us.

In the years since the mid-1930's we have accomplished a great deal with our foreign trade policy. Taking the period since the end of World War II, we have increased our imports from about \$6 billion to almost \$16 billion. Similarly our exports have increased because, as the record shows, when other countries are able to sell more of their products in the United States, they buy that much, and more, from us.

It is my conviction that a renewal of the Trade Agreements Act for a period of at least 5 years is essential to the well-being of all major sectors of our economic life. To that end, it must contain sufficient authority for tariff reductions, so that meaningful negotiations with other countries will be possible.

Furthermore, I am convinced that not only is a continuance of this reciprocal trade program essential to each of these sectors, but that without it, our total economy will suffer in its capacity for growth.

There are those who will say that extension of the act must be opposed because of the present economic recession. However, the present recession is largely concentrated in durable goods production where we are especially efficient, and where we have our important export power.

Therefore, in this period, the continuance of our foreign trade program becomes particularly urgent. While our general exports have fallen to some degree in recent months, we are fortunate that our business dip has not yet been more seriously reflected in the economies of our trading partners abroad.

We need only look back to the period following the enactment of the Tariff Act of 1930 to realize that restricting our imports in a period of recession makes certain the spread of recession around the world. We all know what that implies for our exports.

We need this Trade Agreements Act because we need our exports, particularly now. We should fight to the limit any claims from any quarter that we cannot afford a trade

agreements program in a period such as this. The fact is that we cannot afford not to have a trade agreements program now.

General Mills exports flour throughout the world to some 90 countries. Livestock feeds are exported to Mexico, Central America, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Trinidad, Netherlands West Indies, Jamaica, El Salvador, British West Indies, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and Alaska.

General Mills grocery products, including family flour, is exported to about 65 nations.

Special commodities such as wheat starches, proteins, vitamin concentrates, gums, are exported to Germany, France, Italy, Holland, Africa, South American countries, Korea, Philippines, and Canada.

Flour is the only one of these produced in Minneapolis. The others are made in plants in various sections of the Nation. In addition, General Mills Cereals, Ltd., a subsidiary, produces grocery products in Canada; Protex, S. A., another subsidiary, produces pharmaceutical intermediates in Mexico, and Habib-General Limited, in which General Mills has a 60 percent interest, produces guar gum at Karachi, Pakistan.

**NAPCO HEAD SAYS: "WE CANNOT AFFORD TO SEE TRADE BARRIERS RAISED"**

(By Max E. Rappaport, of Napco Industries, Inc.)

(From Mr. Rappaport's testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee on H. R. 10368 for extension of the reciprocal trade agreement.)

Minnesota in general, and Minneapolis in particular, has a great stake in world trade. Over 250 Minnesota firms exported in excess of \$50 million worth of merchandise in 1957 to over 40 countries.

Approximately 55 percent of these exporting firms had fewer than 50 employees. Thus the export business represents both big business and small business in Minnesota—it represents people, over 51,000 people whose jobs depend on imports and exports.

These figures are extremely modest as they do not take into account any goods that go out of the country via the middleman. For example: a company manufacturing batteries, reports only its sales out of the United States. If a battery goes to a farm implement manufacturer or auto manufacturer and that tractor or automobile is exported—that battery is an export sale, but is not reflected in these figures.

A wide variety of products is shipped from Minnesota: calendars, flour, construction and farm equipment, extracts, shirts, dairy products, poultry, power mowers, tools, electrical machinery, paper and paper products, and a host of food products.

Over one-fifth of Minnesota's income is from agriculture and the farmer depends heavily on free trade. Since World War II, about one-eighth of our farm income has come from crops that were exported. Products of an estimated 60 million acres of farmland are sold abroad.

This is especially important when we remember that economists say that our farm woes come from an overproduction of from 5 to 7 percent. Regardless of how this farm produce moves into export markets, it is channeled away from the United States market and helps to stabilize the United States price of farm commodities. Our Minnesota farm organizations stand solidly behind the concept of freer trade.

Minneapolis, with approximately 25,000 employees depending on imports and exports for their livelihood, cannot afford to see trade barriers raised. Like other great cities, we have our own unemployment problem of the moment. As a business community we feel a responsibility in the matter of world trade that transcends the boundaries of our own city and even our State of Minnesota.



It seems unthinkable that we as a nation could move away from the concept of freer trade when the rest of the world is finally making progress in breaking down some of the tariff walls. We, who have said to the rest of the world: for an example of the same trade policy, look at our 48 States, essentially free of trade barriers. We, who have committed ourselves to the task of elevating the living standards of backward nations around the world. We, who have preached long and loud the equal rights of all men.

It is inconceivable that at this date we should pull back into our isolationist's shell and cut off other nations from our abundance. We know that Congress agrees some way must be found to make some of our abundance overflow to others. We suggest that there is no magic formula—either we must give American dollars to foreign nations in a greatly expanded foreign aid program, or else we must let them sell to us and earn our American dollars. These dollars will come back to us—there is no other place that they can go.

Without export business, employment at Napco Industries would be forcibly reduced by 20 percent. Both Federal Motor Truck Co. and the Northwestern Parts division, two of our divisions, sell extensively to foreign countries. In addition to our present foreign assembly operation in Turkey, additional licensing, assembly or manufacturing agreements are being negotiated with interests in Europe, the Middle East, the Far East and Latin America.

In the course of our selling abroad we find ourselves in competition with European, Asian, and South American business firms. These firms frequently have the advantage of lower labor costs as well as being adjacent to foreign markets. Their competition is therefore quite heavy. We also find that some of our competition is in effect subsidized by their governments for international trade, and we ourselves in the United States do not have any such advantages.

In spite of that, our experience is clear that our exports have increased even as our foreign competition has increased. The very fact that suppliers in Italy, England, France, Japan, and Brazil are able to supply our foreign customers with trucks and parts does not necessarily mean that we have lost business in the total aggregate.

Our conclusion is that with increased and free international trade and international competition there is increased activity for all. If other governments are able to earn dollars by selling to us, they are in a much better position to spend dollars and buy from us. We in the United States cannot live in a vacuum. Our company would die if it became isolated. We need to import from other countries and to sell to other countries. This means that we must enter the competition with full determination to be a part of the international business community.

This means we must recognize that other businesses abroad have a right to sell here in the United States just as we have a right to sell abroad. There is no substitute for this interchange of trade and services. It is for these reasons that we enthusiastically and energetically urge the Congress to enact legislation which will expand the opportunities for the reciprocal-trade program.

Let me point out that such international trade is not only directly beneficial to America's economic well-being, but also is beneficial to our political well-being as a nation.

My business calls for me to travel extensively abroad. I just returned from a trip around the world and believe that economic intercourse between our country and other nations is the soundest and finest basis for friendship between nations.

I am well aware personally that a reciprocal-trade program could have the effect of injuring some specific areas. These are few and far between, yet they are meaningful to the individuals and communities concerned.

However, meaningful as they are, we cannot afford as a nation to cut off our noses to spite our faces. We cannot afford, for the sake of specific and rare dislocations, to sacrifice the economic and political well-being of the Nation as a whole.

It is my own feeling, therefore, that where the reciprocal-trade program does have the effect of injuring a specific business or community, the Congress should adopt as a national policy programs of helping to alleviate the dislocations, inconvenience, and injury. If the Nation as a whole is the gainer from reciprocal trade—then the Nation as a whole ought to share in the responsibility of taking care of the dislocations.

#### AIRLINES HAVE IMPORTANT ROLE IN WORLD TRADE

Airlines serving Minnesota or headquartered here play an important role in world trade. For besides "exporting" or "importing" people, they transport merchandise to and from this area in large quantities.

For example, Northwest Orient Airlines serves the Orient from the Minneapolis-St. Paul and Seattle-Tacoma gateways. It has daily service across the Pacific between these points with Tokyo with DC-7C equipment.

Tokyo is Northwest's base city in the Orient and it is one of the largest American firms based in Japan. From Tokyo, Northwest flies to Manila, Formosa, Okinawa, and Korea (Seoul). It is the only United States airline to serve Formosa and Korea. While not presently serving Hong Kong, Northwest hopes to resume service to the British Crown Colony.

Northwest has 410 employees based in the Orient, both Americans and Orient nationals. In addition, about 150 flight crew members based in the United States fly to the Orient with Northwest. In 1957 the company realized \$12,715,972 in passenger revenue on its trans-Pacific "interport" flights. And that year Northwest incurred \$11,084,951 in expenses outside the United States. This includes fuel loaded aboard planes in foreign countries, station expenses, wages, and maintenance.

Northwest and Capital Airlines carry freight and express from Minnesota for export to the east coast where it is picked up by such international airlines as Pan American and Scandinavian serving European and other countries. The reverse is true of imports from these areas.

From the Orient, Northwest flies in goods manufactured in Japan and other Far East countries. The volume of export and import air freight and express has been growing yearly. Northwest reports its volume in 1957 showed a 15 percent increase over 1956. An 18 percent increase for 1958 is predicted.

Branniff International Airways, which has its northern terminus here, also carries considerable air freight and express to Mexico, Central and South American countries, and vice versa.

Dollarwise, the greatest volume of exports and imports are the persons carried to and from other nations. These human cargoes pour American dollars into foreign countries enabling them in turn to purchase more American-made goods.

Other types of merchandise made in Minnesota carried by airlines for export include such things as hearing aids, electronic and electrical equipment, recording tape, parts and accessories for machines made in the State, insecticides, medicines and drugs.

Imports carried by air may be woolen gloves from Japan, cashmere sweaters from Scotland, German-made precision instruments, pyrethrum for insecticides, or art objects and religious articles.

#### GOVERNOR FREEMAN: "EXPORTS IMPORTANT SOURCE OF INCOME TO STATE"

Gov. Orville L. Freeman in a recent speech at Stillwater, Minn., said that the adoption

of a long-range program to foster international trade "is of direct vital concern to Minnesota, both at present and even more so in the future."

"Today," he said, "exports constitute an important source of income to both the industrial and agricultural segments of our State. At the beginning of the year more than 60 percent of the State labor force was employed in manufacturing industries producing goods which the United States exports in greater volume than it imports."

He pointed out that in 1954 the value of exports of manufactured commodities in this State has been estimated at \$70 million. In 1956 the total had risen to an estimated \$105 million.

"Exports are of special importance to our farm crop production, especially in the instance of wheat and soybeans—both major agricultural products in Minnesota. More than 55 percent of the Nation's wheat and 38 percent of its soybean crop was exported in fiscal 1956-57."

The Governor noted that soybeans in particular are an important export commodity for Minnesota. In Japan, he said, soybeans have become an increasingly important food commodity, and last year that country imported 33 million bushels.

"On our Orient trade promotion trip last year there were many indications that Asian nations are some of the best customers we have. We know, for instance, that an unparalleled Asian trade expansion has occurred during the postwar 1948-55 period. Exports to nations there were up 158 percent in that time, as compared to a national 27 percent export increase."

Last year alone, the Governor said, Japan purchased goods and services in this country worth over a billion dollars.

"One point many persons overlook when they see the expanding nature of our export trade is that in order to maintain this trade we must provide other countries with the necessary purchasing power through imports. Trade is but the lifeblood of a strong and vigorous economic heartbeat. If we curtail the flow in one direction, we automatically halt it in the other."

In the next decade, Freeman said, Minnesota will feel even more the need for a long-range export-import program with the opening of Duluth as an ocean seaport.

"We know that with the St. Lawrence Seaway and our expanding economy we have the potential to become a heartland rather than a hinterland, with Duluth as Minnesota's deep-water port to the world."

One of the great crises the United States faces today, he added, is the lack of a long-range international trade program which consistently promotes commerce between here and abroad.

"Failure to recognize that fact can have serious consequence in our National and State economy. Past experience has shown that in one case a restrictive trade policy added fuel to a depression which seared the minds of every man here, and in another case a trade policy which promoted commerce between nations aided materially in closing off a recession."

Governor Freeman said the adoption of the Hawley-Smoot tariffs in 1930 was "a tragic protectionist blunder" which raised barriers to foreign imports in this country and abruptly reduced foreign purchases in this country.

In 1954, however, as a result of 20 years of actively building foreign trade through the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, he said, a postwar high in exports provided the economic force to return the country to a wealth producing, expanding economy.

#### MINNEAPOLIS-MOLINE EXPORT BUSINESS

The name Minneapolis—in bright red-lettered signs 10 feet wide, is seen on hundreds

of mammoth boxes going to 40 foreign countries. It is part of the name of one of the oldest industries in the city—Minneapolis-Moline.

For the company's export markets are reported growing in importance with orders at Minneapolis-Moline during the first 3 months of 1958 mounting to almost half of the 12-month sales in 1957.

For to grow more food, machines are in demand the world over to replace human labor, with 1 man and a machine doing the work of 50 men.

The company's newest tractors like the 5-Star industrial and farm models, the new hay baler, and the bigger grain Harvestors are finding eager buyers with many foreign Minneapolis-Moline distributors visiting the company's main offices in Hopkins during the past 2 months.

Abdul Hussein Hamsavi, Director of Information of Iran, which is adding sugarcane to its former basic wheat crop, called on J. Russell Duncan, new president of Minneapolis-Moline, a month ago. He was followed a week later by Sabet, partner in Sabet-Pasal, Teheran, which has bought large quantities of farm machines made in Minneapolis and Hopkins.

Government and business officials of the Republic of Colombia came to discuss the new 1958 machines made by Minneapolis-Moline. Colombia is increasing the developing of new agricultural area and promoting the use of machines. Formerly dependent on coffee, Colombia now grows vast acreages of cotton, corn, and vegetables. Minneapolis-Moline tractors, harrows, disks, cultivators, and the company's National Champion Corn Husker are on order for use in the rich Cauca Valley in the Andes.

The International Cooperation Administration is making possible the introduction of modern mechanized farming in many countries formerly limited to the ancient techniques, water bullocks or burros. Hydraulic equipment is gaining favor among farmers of the world who only yesterday cut grain with a sickle and threshed it by throwing it up in the air to allow the wind to blow the chaff away.

In Brazil huge Minneapolis-Moline self-propelled harvesters cut 14-foot swaths of standing grain, threshing it on-the-go and pouring 50 bushels at a time into trucks waiting at the end of the field. The "hired man" has gone to Rio. For the factories there, as in a dozen other countries which are developing their own industries, are drawing farm laborers off the land to the cities.

Even the nails, bolts and the lumber used in boxing Minneapolis-Moline tractors at Industrial Crating Co. on East Hennepin Avenue and Pierce Street are valuable exports. In Africa the boxes as well as the machines are highly prized.

Shipping farm machinery involves heavy charges for packing, transport to ports in the United States, ocean freight, stevedoring, import duties, and transport in the foreign country. Over half a million dollars were spent in 1957 for these services by purchasers of machines made in Minneapolis.

Among the problems of getting American farm machinery to the field in foreign countries is the widespread pilfering in most countries. Unless tractors and big grain combines are securely boxed, nimble hands remove batteries, tires, spark plugs, lights, even the wheels.

Another problem is the lack of local rail transport in many foreign countries. Boxed Minneapolis-Moline farm machinery has been known to wait for several months at the port until rail transport was available. Modern truck lines are extremely scarce, and are also, of course, inadequate in most countries.

But even with these problems and expenses, American farm machinery is com-

peting successfully with European products. The basic reason is that, as at Minneapolis-Moline, American manufacturers are far ahead of foreign competition in design of labor-saving agricultural machinery.

In the case of tractors, foreign firms have a strong competitive position with government aid in extending long terms. But in the newer implements and in the big harvesting machines, foreign manufacturers are definitely far behind America in solving the numerous problems inherent in mechanization.

In fact, except for a year or two back in the 19th century, no tariff protection has ever been given to the American farm equipment industry.

#### EXPORTING YEAR-ROUND BUSINESS FOR PIONEER

Pioneer Engineering of Minneapolis, a division of Poor & Co., which manufactures heavy equipment for the construction industry, believes export business is good business.

President O. J. Ellertson, son of the founder, and former export manager, will give you at least four good reasons.

Export buying is a year-round business. It helps smooth out the peaks and valleys in production brought about by seasonal construction business in our own country.

It helps to bring dollars into this area, which means more productivity and more jobs for local people with steadier employment for all at the plant.

It makes possible a reciprocity in trade between the United States and foreign countries, enabling Pioneer to feel more sure that necessary scarce materials, such as manganese (with which steel is alloyed to make it withstand impact and abrasion), will be available when needed.

A broad foreign-trade business is one way in which the company can help keep the good will of Free World neighbors as a pre-server of peace.

The export phase is a substantial part of business at Pioneer whose primary products are portable and stationary machines for producing and processing crushed rock and gravel and machinery for making blacktop, including machines for laying it on highways, streets, and parking lots.

In 1957 export amounted to about 30 percent of the company's business, including equipment shipped to Canada. Thus, export trade accounts for 1½ days' production out of every 5-day week. Exclusive of Canada, it is estimated that roughly 16 percent of the company's business in 1958 will be shipped as export, the bulk of it in Latin American countries.

Export trade to the construction industry is, however, a fluctuating business, according to Ellertson. Many countries want to buy from the United States but the high cost of the equipment coupled with the availability of American dollars for purchase presents an ever-changing pattern.

Many countries send emissaries to the United States to negotiate for purchase of equipment. In such quest the Bureau of Public Roads in Washington is frequently a great assistant in bringing manufacturer and foreign buyer together.

Last fall the Government of Iran, through efforts of the Bureau, were able to buy 10 large-size portable aggregate processing plants from the company. These plants are intended, one for each geographical district in Iran, to help that country develop and maintain its roadbuilding program.

In 1957, Venezuela proved to be a good market and through its distributor in Caracas, Pioneer was able to ship a record-breaking volume to that country. The equipment is very heavy and on his return from a recent trip to Venezuela, Carl R. Rolf, executive vice president, said it is beyond anyone's imagination how those people ever

got some of the large equipment up the roads that only a jeep could traverse.

A few months ago the company shipped a large installation to Cuban mining interests, based on the recommendation of the American consultants on the job. Equipment has been shipped to Korea, the Philippines, Turkey, Arabia, Egypt, and other areas of the Middle East. To Greenland, Iceland, Finland, and the Scandinavias. Wherever the Free World has access to the moneys with which to buy, you find the market for Pioneer's foreign trade, Ellertson says.

Pioneer equipment is also helping our American contractors working abroad. Much of it has gone to defense projects such as those in Alaska, Greenland, Spain, and the Pacific. During World War II, Pioneer designed and built for the armed services the largest portable plants for the production of construction aggregates from whatever source of material was available.

These plants consisted of 14 units, all on wheels or crawler tracks, and required 11 flat cars per plant for shipment. These plants, now somewhat revised to utilize more electric power, and equipped with rubber-tired chassis, are still the only standard of the armed services. Plants of the nature described cost on the order of \$235,000 for the complete setup.

They can crush, screen, and wash material and even manufacture sand when necessary, and they perform these operations to extremely severe material specifications at rates exceeding 200 tons of product per hour.

Founded in 1928 the company is now recognized as a leader in its specialized field. Present export manager is J. Miller Brown, currently on a business tour of some of the countries of South America. Both Ellertson and Rolf are actively interested in all phases of the company's export business.

Advertising and sales promotion in foreign areas consume a reasonable portion of the total sales-expense budget. Catalog brochures and other selling aids are produced in several foreign languages and are particularly extensive in Spanish and Portuguese.

#### BANKS HELP FINANCE EXPORTS-IMPORTS

Primarily the function of any foreign banking department is to finance the movement of goods and services from one country to another. There are many methods by which these services can be accomplished, one of the more important ones being the use of commercial letters of credit.

An import credit is nothing more than an instrument issued by a bank on behalf of its importing customer, in favor of the exporter abroad, promising that, if certain conditions are met, the shipper will receive payment for his goods regardless of the financial reliability of the importer.

A counterpart to the import credit is the export credit. An export credit is opened by the buyer abroad through his local bank and directed to the American exporter through a bank in this country. The same promise is given—that the exporter will receive his money after he fulfills the conditions of the credit.

Letters of credit may be either confirmed or unconfirmed, irrevocable or revocable. A confirmed credit has the promise of payment from both the opening bank and the exporter's local bank. An unconfirmed credit has only the opening bank's promise of payment. By giving notice to the banks involved a revocable credit can be canceled at any time prior to presentment of documents. An irrevocable letter of credit can be neither revoked nor modified in any way except by the consent of all parties. The conditions governing whether a credit is confirmed or unconfirmed, or whether irrevocable or revocable, are the same for export or import letters of credit.



Another important facet of financing international trade is use of a draft drawn either at sight or time. Generally, such drafts are drawn in conjunction with other documents such as negotiable ocean bills of lading, commercial invoices, consular invoices, insurance policies, certificates, etc. Although all of these documents are important, probably the most important is the negotiable bill of lading. This instrument conveys title and usually protects the shipper in that he can control the shipment until either payment or acceptance of his draft is made.

The foreign banking department of your Minneapolis bank can best assist you in securing payment or acceptance of drafts by using the facilities of its foreign correspondent banks. Should an exporter desire it, a foreign banking department can discount drafts, providing immediate funds to the shipper. Acceptance financing is becoming more important and increasing demands are being made on United States exporters for longer terms of payment, other than sight draft.

Trading one country's currency for that of another is an important contribution made by a foreign banking department to foreign trade. The principal currencies presently being traded are Canadian dollars, sterling, as well as funds from other free countries, in accordance with their regulations. Foreign exchange traders in Minneapolis are prepared to either buy or sell all marketable currencies.

Because of the exchange restrictions in many countries today, it is not always possible to sell against payment in dollars, and frequently other foreign currencies are offered in payment of goods and services, which may or may not be freely convertible to dollars.

A foreign banking department issues instructions abroad to make payment against the beneficiary's receipt, as well as being able to draw drafts directly on its foreign correspondents, thereby making the funds readily available to the beneficiary.

Your Minneapolis bank offers foreign services, in addition to those already mentioned. The securing of credit information through foreign correspondents regarding the financial reliability of potential buyers or sellers abroad. The securing of trade and market information to assist exporters in the development of their overseas operation.

Through a network of correspondents, it is able to secure names of suppliers for the importer. This same network of correspondents can furnish names of reliable representatives throughout the world to exporters interested in going into a new market.

An important contribution to world trade is foreign travel, providing dollar exchange to all countries which returns to our country in increased purchases of our exportable products. A foreign banking department assists in foreign travel by selling travelers checks and travelers letters of credit. Foreign currencies and regulations regarding its use are also available at this department.

#### SWEDISH CONSUL SEEKS TO BUILD UP SERVICE HERE

(The following article by Paul Swenson, managing editor of the Minneapolis Star, published in the May issue of the American Swedish Monthly, gives an insight into the activities of the Swedish Consul General Gosta af Petersens.)

"The most challenging part of my job is to introduce third generation Swedish Americans to modern Sweden."

The speaker is a tall, slender gentleman of 47 years, whose friendly eyes and extended hand in 22 months have won the friendship of thousands in a consular district which is two and one-half times larger than his native Sweden.

And if Consul General Gosta af Petersens were to count the Swedish stock in this upper Midwest area (Minnesota, Wisconsin, North and South Dakota, and Montana), his tally would be far greater than the population of Sweden's capital, fair Stockholm.

These American grandchildren of Scandinavia speak no Swedish; they don't even have "Swenglish," that blending of Swedish and English sometimes found in England. But these Americans are not strangers to Consul and Mrs. af Petersens. They resemble their Stockholm cousins and they are giving the consul an experience in human relations he prizes highly.

"Nowhere have I come so close to American life. There is great satisfaction in dealing so informally, with frankness and openness of mind."

Building an information service in the vast upper Midwest (population 8 million) is a massive task, says the consul, and he adds quickly and gratefully that steps are being taken in Sweden to make this service more effective.

The story of Sweden is far from a new story in Minnesota; the difference is the growing size of the American audience, and fresh interest in the potential cultural and economic ties.

The first Swedish consulate was set up in Minneapolis in 1919 and Gosta af Petersens is the fifth to serve as His Majesty's representative here. The address, 912 Mount Curve Avenue, serves both as residence for the af Petersens and office for the staff of four persons.

Hundreds of Swedes and Swedish-Americans have come to the consulate and not least in importance has been the service to these people in legal transactions, securing passports and settling estates.

Last year more than \$400,000 in estate properties were transferred from Swedish-Americans to their relatives in Sweden. There is a small trickle from Sweden to kin in America, but nothing comparable to the \$394,000 average for each of the last 10 years which has moved from the upper Midwest to friends and families in Sweden.

Something new in Swedish foreign service will make its debut in Minneapolis this May when Prince Bertil of Sweden will formally open an exhibit of Swedish glassware during his visit to Minnesota's Centennial.

The exhibit will be housed in the basement of the consulate and will consist of more than 100 pieces from the Gullaskrur, Johanfors, Kosta, Orrefors, and Strombergshyttan glass works.

The exhibit will have both a cultural and commercial role, according to Consul af Petersens. Minnesota already is an important center for distribution of giftware. The glass display, he hopes, will be helpful to prospective dealers and distributors, in addition to telling a Swedish art story to consulate visitors.

The visit of Prince Bertil, his third to Minnesota, may well be the highlight of the consulate's 1958 efforts to tell Sweden's story.

Prospects for increased Swedish trade in the upper Midwest are bright. Opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway will bring the Swedish merchant fleet to the harbors at Duluth, Minn., and Milwaukee and Green Bay, Wis. Swedish products, ranging from automobiles to dainty table settings, will enter the American heartland market without costly transshipment at eastern ports.

In return, raw materials and finished products from the Ninth Federal Reserve district may find their way in Swedish bottoms to distant markets.

A typical customer might be the Swedish piano distributor who wished to exhibit Swedish-made instruments at the 1958 St. Paul Festival of Nations. The high cost of shipment via New York compelled the Swedish businessman to drop the idea.

Consul af Petersens hopes that this story will have a happier ending when the seaway is ready.

But the exchange of ideas and cultures does not wait for completions of waterways. Exchange of professors, students and even farm youth is well established between Sweden and the University of Minnesota. There are exchange professors from Sweden at both the University of Minnesota and the University of Wisconsin.

Minnesotans are familiar with the student exchanges sponsored by the American Swedish Foundation. Consul af Petersens would like to see in the future scholarships available for the ablest students in the Swedish departments at Wisconsin and Minnesota Universities for a visit to Sweden to complete their studies.

#### INSURANCE PLAYS VITAL ROLE IN FOREIGN TRADE

(By L. P. Foster, vice president, Marsh & McLennan, Inc.)

Foreign commerce would, for all practical purposes, cease to exist if marine insurance were not available.

While this is the oldest form of insurance of which there is any record, it is probably the least understood not only as respects the terms of coverage but more importantly the reasons for the necessity of such insurance.

It is obvious, of course, that the prime purpose of marine insurance is to protect and insure, not only the cargo carried by a vessel itself as well as protecting the vessel owner for liabilities to third parties that might be incurred.

To carry foreign commerce cargo-carrying vessels must be available, and shipowners must have facilities for protecting their investment. Without insurance there are few, if any, who would undertake the many risks that are involved in operating a vessel at sea. Exporters and importers who ship in such vessels must also be able to purchase insurance to protect their interest in the cargo.

In addition to protecting the shipowner and cargo owner, marine insurance also performs another very practical purpose. Credit and financing in foreign trade involves many problems. It is quite apparent, however, that in order to expedite the free interchange of goods proper credit and financing facilities must be available and marine insurance becomes a very important part of such facilities.

Documentation in connection with foreign commerce involves problems that are not usual to domestic shipping and to properly handle these transactions it must be necessary to have certain documentation which can be negotiated quickly and with assurance that all parties involved are properly protected.

This means, of course, that insurance is not only mandatory but there must be evidence of insurance as part of the documentation of a foreign commerce transaction.

With proper documentation not only are all interested parties assured that the property is protected but expeditious handling of the transaction and claim problems that may arise at destination are facilitated.

Many exporters in Minneapolis, through local insurance brokers, arrange marine insurance on their export shipments which provides coverage from the time their merchandise leaves their plant and while in transit by rail, truck, or water to the port of export, including coverage while on the ocean vessel and coverage after discharge until delivered to their customer at destination.

This continuity of coverage is provided under what is known as the warehouse to warehouse clause. All insurance companies who provide marine insurance have facilities not only at ports in this country but

throughout the world to handle losses that may occur while the merchandise is in transit.

In addition, the larger insurance brokers have insurance offices in most of the major ports of this country as well as some foreign offices to further assist clients in the adjustment of claims or other problems that may arise in connection with their export business.

Minneapolis insurance agents and companies have a real interest in marine insurance and most offices are equipped to handle this special coverage.

#### MINNESOTA CENTENNIAL

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, on May 11, 1858, Minnesota became the 32d State in the Union. It is with great pride and satisfaction that I call the attention of the Senate to this outstanding event in our history—a pride and satisfaction which I know is shared by my distinguished colleague [Mr. HUMPHREY].

It was on March 3, 1849, that President Polk signed the organic act establishing the legal entity which developed into the State of Minnesota. Ten years later, a smaller area—known as Minnesota—was admitted to the Union and began its first hundred years of growth and development.

The name "Minnesota" comes from the Indian word "Mini-sota," given by the Dakota Indians to that great tributary of the Mississippi, and means "sky-tinted water." From this came the familiar and beautiful song, *The Land of the Sky-Blue Water*.

The Minnesota Indians of historic times are dominated by four names: Dakota, Sioux, Ojibway, and Chippewa. Treaties with these Indians—and with Indians of other tribes—opened the territory west of the Mississippi to white settlers shortly after 1851. People flooded into the new territory so that within 9 years the population had grown from less than 5,000 whites to almost 160,000. Wheat came pouring in from the newly tilled farms. Lumbering became a major industry. Cities and towns sprang up on virgin forest and prairie lands. Farms were built from the raw land, while schools and churches carried the culture forward to the frontier of the West.

Within that first decade, the beginnings of civilization had been transplanted to this wilderness and on the date of this our centennial—May 11, 1858—Minnesota became a sovereign State.

In those beginning years, the great tide of immigration swept on. Busy steamboats puffed up the Mississippi, the Minnesota, and the St. Croix bearing new settlers and great consignments of cargo. River landings rustled with activity; Government roads were started. Many pioneers boarded boats at Galena, Denleith, and St. Louis. Others made the long journey in great prairie schooners, the covered wagons, driving their cattle before them.

Incidentally, my own parents went into the Dakota Territory in a covered wagon, so I am the offspring of pioneers.

Some hoped to make their fortunes in commercial or professional fields, but the majority arrived to take up land offered

by the Government at a rate as low as \$1.25 an acre, plus proof of occupancy and cultivation.

In an incredibly short time, pioneer homes began to dot the wilderness. Four years before the official birth of Minnesota, about 500,000 acres had passed into private hands; 2 years later more than 1 million had been transferred, and in the year of statehood, nearly 2,500,000 acres of land belonged to the early settlers.

A university—now our world-renowned University of Minnesota—was chartered in 1851.

From the start, the proposal to admit the Northern Territory to the Union brought about violent debate in the Halls of Congress, owing to the sectional feeling between North and South which increased in bitterness in the last decade before the Civil War. The enabling act was finally passed in 1857, and the jubilant Minnesotans proceeded to adopt a constitution and elect State officers.

Thirteen days after the formal admission of the State, the State officers took their oaths of office and the following week the legislature, now clothed with full powers, reconvened.

The first gubernatorial election in October 1859, following the actual admission to statehood, resulted in the selection of Alexander Ramsey, the old territorial Governor.

The new Commonwealth had scarcely time to draw the breath of statehood when the Civil War burst upon a people completely unprepared for such a calamity. The day on which news of the fall of Fort Sumter reached Washington found Governor Ramsey in the Capital. He at once hastened to the War Department and offered Secretary Cameron 1,000 men from Minnesota—the first offer of troops from any quarter after the fall of the Charleston fortress.

The day after the President's proclamation calling for troops, Acting Governor Ignatious Donnelly issued a call at St. Paul for the 1st Minnesota Regiment. The regiment was brought together so quickly that it was able to replace almost at once units of the Regular Army at the frontier posts and to reach the East in time to take part in the first battle of Bull Run. The heroic part that regiment later played at Gettysburg is familiar to all students of the greatest engagement ever fought on American soil—or the whole Western Hemisphere for that matter. Before the final muster-out at the close of the war, a total of 21,982 men had enlisted from the great State of Minnesota.

The war itself loomed scarcely larger in the eyes of Minnesotans than the terrible Sioux Indian uprising in the summer of 1862. The entire Sioux nation, resenting the stoppage of food and money allotments, turned against the white man. More than 1,500 braves took the warpath. Within a few days, more than 400 white men, women and children were massacred and many more taken prisoner. The rebellion was finally crushed. But the price had been a terrible one. The result was that the Sioux were finally banished from the State.

I shall not attempt, and could not trace, Mr. President, even in barest outline, the course of history of my State in modern times. Since the Civil War Minnesota has borne its part in 3 other wars—2 of them worldwide. Minnesota has, it may truly be claimed, made possible the opening up of the great northwestern empire—and it is an empire indeed—and thus has made an incalculable contribution to the development of the Union.

From that start 100 years ago, Minnesota has risen in population from 152,000 to 3,313,000.

Food manufacturing is the leading employer; Minnesota's food industry today ranks second in the Nation. Manufacturing in general provides 220,000 jobs alone—more than the original population and pays workers over a billion dollars a year in wages.

Minnesota has one of the prime agricultural regions in the Nation. Its agriculture stands firm and foremost, with fertile lands and rolling hills. The Minnesota farmer is truly one of the country's most important producers. The great livestock market at South St. Paul is the second largest in the world—more than a million dollars is paid each day to Northwest livestock producers.

From this beautiful and productive farmland, let us go to the scenic beauties of our upper region. The Superior National Forest, on the north shore region of Minnesota, is full evidence of nature's bounty. The lakes and still pines, the vast reaches of forest are much as our forefathers found them. Here is peace and quiet in one of nature's true theaters of beauty.

And up in this northern region lies the raw material that fills our Nation's iron ore needs. Hibbing's giant hull rust mine is still the largest in the world—a vast storehouse of strength for our Nation in this steel and mechanical age.

In total expenditures for education, Minnesota today ranks seventh among the States of the Union. It stands in sixth place in per pupil expenditure for public school education.

The Mayo Clinic at Rochester is world famed and that institution has spent on postwar construction alone something like \$25 million.

There are only 7 States paying more per recipient in old-age pensions, 30 percent above the national average. Minnesota ranks seventh in child care—52 percent above the national average.

A recent survey of industrial firms indicates that industry may spend upward of \$40 million in expansion in the St. Paul area alone during 1958 and 1959.

I could go on at some length to tell of the amazing progress our great State has made during its first 100 years. I believe it fair to say that Minnesota has contributed its share to the maintenance, security, and general development of the Union we all love, irrespective of section or party.

And I know that Minnesota's second century will bring progress undreamed of by those of us who are here today. Down the long hallway of the next hundred years, Minnesota will become the focal point of world trade and transpor-



tation—she will be one of the great air terminals of the age.

The future is limited only by the imagination. The star of the north will shine ever more brightly in the next century. I wish her Godspeed, in the name of her people and her country.

Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

#### DR. RALPH D. CASEY

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, recently, Dr. Ralph D. Casey, the head of the school of journalism at the University of Minnesota, announced his plans to retire in June of this year, after 28 years as director of one of the leading journalism schools in the Nation. In recognition of his contributions to the profession, a banquet was given in his honor last week. J. Russell Wiggins, editor of the Washington Post and Times Herald, and Dr. J. L. Morrill, president of the University of Minnesota, were the principal speakers at this testimonial dinner.

In further recognition of "Doc" Casey's leading position among journalism educators in the Nation and of his work in the profession of journalism, I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that a recent article which appeared in the Minneapolis Star be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### JOURNALISM IS WAY OF LIFE TO CASEY (By Herm Sittard)

When Ralph Casey, cigarette in mouth, emerged from his stucco colonial at 2732 West River Road at 8:10 a. m. today, his day's work had already begun.

Casey climbed into his blue 1953 Olds for the 12-minute drive to his office on the University of Minnesota campus; but his work had started earlier as he scanned the morning papers while sipping coffee in bed. (An automatic timer—set for 7:10 a. m.—had started the Casey coffeemaker before he awoke.)

His work? Ralph D. Casey is director of one of the world's most distinguished schools of journalism and he lives with journalism around the clock.

For instance, if last night was like most other nights, "Doc" Casey—that's what his students call him—was up past midnight working at the ornate desk in his booklined den.

That den, by the way, once was a double garage at the back of the house. But "Doc" couldn't find enough room for his books and whathever you in other rooms of the house so he converted the garage to a king-sized den. Its shelves, and several tables, are stacked high with books, pamphlets, and newspapers.

When he arrived at his office in Murphy Hall on the campus this morning, "Doc" sat down in a similar setting—more books, more pamphlets, more newspapers. "Doc," you see, is one of those guys who never throws anything away.

But a couple of weeks ago his wife, Lois, put her foot down.

A neighborhood boy was collecting for a paper drive. Out of the Casey colonial went 25 years' accumulation of "Editor and Publisher" magazine. (She checked first—the libraries had complete files.) Even so, this probably would not have happened except for one thing—"Doc" and Lois are selling their home.

He'll turn 68 next Thursday and he's going to retire in June—after 28 years as head of journalism at Minnesota.

In recognition of his contributions to the profession, some 300 persons will honor "Doc" tonight with a special banquet at the Leamington Hotel. On hand for the occasion will be newspapermen and representatives of radio, television, advertising agencies and the graphic arts industries, as well as journalism school, faculty, and students.

J. Russell Wiggins, editor of the Washington Post, will speak on freedom of the press and University President J. L. Morrill will talk about Ralph D. Casey and education for journalism.

Time was—and not so long ago either—when hardboiled editors grew their own reporters, as copy boys in the newsroom, and took a dim view (to put it mildly) of journalism schools.

But tonight's banquet will show how times have changed. Some of the Nation's most distinguished newsmen will be on hand to honor "Doc" Casey.

Journalism schools—and the fourth estate itself—have come a long way since "Doc" dusted off his desk in the basement of Pillsbury Hall on the university campus in the fall of 1930.

(Students took compulsory military drill on the parade ground across the street, where the Continuation Center is now, and wind blew the dust through the stone-arched windows of Pillsbury.)

Perhaps dust was Casey's alibi at some of the annual journalism-day ball-games between faculty and students. As umpire, "Doc" sometimes had difficulty with his horn-rimmed glasses. He'd identify a wild faculty pitch as a strike.

On one occasion, Charles Duncan, class of 1936, brandishing his bat, chased Casey into center field after "Doc" had called him out on three wild pitches. (Duncan is now dean of the University of Oregon journalism school.)

And he's been tough on journalism students in the classroom, too. Casey and his associates judge a student's work by professional standards. He insists that newspaper know-how is learned by doing; so staffers and students alike try to duplicate actual news working conditions in the school.

Newspaper executives from five States are having a conference today at the university. As they walk down the main corridor of Murphy Hall they can't help noticing dozens of newspaper cartoons on exhibit.

What they don't know is that "Doc" Casey himself first broke into print as a cartoonist—he was a grammar school lad of 9 at the time—and still likes to doodle occasionally.

His father, a mining engineer, used to bring home out-of-town newspapers from his business trips. Ralph got interested in newspapers—as newspapers. New York Sunday editions acquainted him with early comic strips and cartooning.

At Lincoln High in Seattle, Wash., Ralph became high school correspondent for the Seattle Post-Intelligencer. He also became interested in Lois Osborne, who later became Mrs. Casey.

While he earned his journalism degree at the University of Washington he worked part time for the Seattle Post-Intelligencer; later became a full-time staffer for 3 years.

For the next 6 years he alternated between teaching (Universities of Montana and Oregon) and newspapering (the Post-Intelligencer and the New York Herald). Finally, in 1922, he began his permanent career in journalism education.

"Research" is an important word to "Doc" Casey. He established the first journalism school research division in the Nation in 1944. Ralph O. Nafziger, research director from 1944 to 1949, is now University of Wisconsin School of Journalism director. Rob-

ert L. Jones, the current research chief, succeeds "Doc" Casey as journalism director in July.

To recruit—and keep—a topnotch journalism faculty is no easy task, but "Doc" has been notably successful in this activity.

Less than 10 years ago the University of Minnesota and the University of Missouri Schools of Journalism tied for first place among the Nation's journalism schools. They achieved this distinction after a confidential questioning of news executives about professional performance of journalism graduates on their jobs.

Although he's understandably reluctant to name names, Casey takes real satisfaction in the success of his graduates. J-Alumni would mention graduates like Phil Potter, Washington correspondent of the Baltimore Sun; Charles Roberts, Newsweek Washington bureau; Sig Mickelson, CBS director of news and public affairs; and Harrison Salisbury, New York Times reporter.

Some 50 graduates now publish their own weekly newspapers.

It's something of a tribute to Casey's discernment that the faculty he assembled has been raided by other universities for their key personnel.

Kenneth Olson, recently retired head of Northwestern University's Medill School of Journalism, was at Minnesota earlier, so were Nafziger, Duncan, and Robert Desmond, former journalism department chairman at University of California at Berkeley, and Henry Ladd Smith, director of the communications school at the University of Washington.

Half a dozen of his present faculty associates have achieved national distinction in research. When he wants his staff to endorse a new policy (and this is not uncommon) "Doc" Casey buttonholes the men individually before the formal Tuesday morning meeting.

By the time the J-staff assembles round the rim of the copy desk in the editing lab, "Doc" has a pretty good idea of how his project will fare, should he call for a vote.

As a result, the journalism program at Minnesota reflects not only the skill of its faculty but Casey's own insistence upon three things:

Skill in the techniques of journalism, especially writing and editing.

A sound liberal arts education that enables the graduate to interview intelligently persons in any walk of life.

Development of a professional attitude toward the responsibilities of a newsman in a free society.

He also has refused to splinter his basic program into highly specialized divisions. His policies have paid off in graduates who write and edit skillfully for a variety of communication mediums.

In recognition of his work, the American Society of Newspaper Editors elected him a distinguished service member (1 of 3 educators so honored).

"Doc" has coauthored several books. One of these, Propaganda, Communication, and Public Opinion, earned him the Sigma Delta Chi (journalism fraternity) distinguished service award for 1946.

During World War II "Doc" was consultant to the Office of War Information. Twenty years ago he was in England for a year on a Guggenheim fellowship, studying political propaganda techniques. On top of all this, he served twice as president of the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism.

It's tough though, for a former student to interview "Doc" Casey. (He tries to stay about three jumps ahead of you.)

"You don't have to print this," Casey grinned guiltily. He paused to puff on his cigar, "but I was a public relations man once."

Professional newspapermen would razz him about this—and he knows it. Public relations men turn out lengthy handouts that corporation vice presidents like to read.

It should be noted—in Casey's favor—that his role outside the profession was shortlived (about 6 months). He wrote handouts about the Evergreen playground of the Northwest for the Seattle Chamber of Commerce.

The more tactful newsmen will refrain, perhaps, from mentioning this interlude as they dine with "Doc" tonight.

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. THYE. I yield.

Mr. NEUBERGER. I should like to say, in connection with the Senator's tribute to Dr. Casey, that Ralph D. Casey was a teacher at the University of Oregon School of Journalism prior to his going to Minnesota. I wish to join with the Senator from Minnesota in paying tribute to Ralph D. Casey. I know sufficiently of the quality and caliber of the School of Journalism at the University of Oregon, to which Ralph D. Casey contributed so much when he was a teacher there that I should not wish the opportunity to pass without sharing in the encomiums being paid to him.

Mr. THYE. I thank the Senator from Oregon. It was Minnesota's loss in the first instance when Dr. Casey went to Oregon, because Dr. Casey was a Minnesota boy. His family home is located just southwest of the Twin Cities. His brother was in the journalistic field there. I have known the family, and I have always been a great admirer of Ralph D. Casey. Then it was Oregon's loss in later years when we in Minnesota got our distinguished son back again.

Mr. NEUBERGER. I agree with that statement.

#### KENNEDY BILL FOR UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, as a result of its dependence upon the housing and other lumber-using industries, Oregon was one of the first States to feel the brunt of unemployment in this recession, it was also one of the first to find its unemployment compensation funds facing threatening difficulties in meeting its mounting unemployment claims. To meet the need without having to impose maximum payroll taxes on Oregon's industries and businesses at the depth of the recession, the Oregon State Unemployment Compensation Commission has borrowed \$14 million from the Federal Government.

During the time this Federal loan will cover the commission's obligations, the commission must work out a program for repaying the loan over the next 4 years and prepare for future needs of the unemployment compensation fund. This study has now been initiated by an advisory council appointed by the commission.

I believe that Oregon's present experience illustrates some of the factors which must be considered in passing Federal legislation to extend unemployment benefits that will soon come before the Senate. For example, while an extension of eligibility is very important

for workers who have already used up their 26 weeks of unemployment benefits, I think that an extension program should not be wholly in the form of Federal loans to the States, as suggested by the administration. This would merely place a further economic burden on business activity in precisely those States which have been hardest hit by the present recession. If additional Federal loans had to be repaid beyond the \$14 million loan already taken out by the Oregon State Unemployment Compensation Commission, Oregon payrolls would no doubt have to be taxed at the maximum rate of 2.7 percent for years to come. For that reason, a Federal program to extend benefits should include direct Federal grants, which would help to equalize the adverse economic impact among the people of the 48 States. I also believe that any new Federal law must include realistic and progressive standards for its administration in the 48 States, as would be provided in the excellent bill sponsored by the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY]. I am pleased to be a cosponsor of his bill.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial published in the East Oregonian, of Pendleton, Oreg., for April 10, 1958, discussing this problem. I commend the editorial to my colleagues.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

That Federal loan of \$14 million to the Oregon State Unemployment Compensation Commission permits a breathing spell. Nothing more. If the money had not been borrowed some 12,000 employers would have had to contribute a higher percentage of their payrolls to the State unemployment fund. Those 12,000 are employers who, because of their experience ratings, are paying less than the maximum of 2.7 percent of their payrolls to the unemployment fund.

The loan must, of course, be repaid to the Federal Government. The stipulations under which the loan was granted to the State provide, among other things, that it be repaid within 4 years.

Oregon's Governor Holmes asked for the loan because he considered a period of business recession in the State a poor time to ask 12,000 employers to dig up money which they had made no preparation to pay.

As aforesaid, it provides only a breathing spell. It will give the unemployment compensation commission time to work out a formula for repayment of the \$14 million loan and, more important, to take a long look at unemployment compensation coverage, benefits, authority of the commission, rates of payroll taxation, etc. This task got under way last week with the first meeting in Salem of an advisory council of 14, appointed by the commission. The council is composed of 5 representatives each of industry and labor and 4 representing the public.

It is regrettable that the study the council will conduct has waited for so long. We do not know whether there has been a reluctance on the part of former governors, legislatures, or unemployment compensation commissions to get into it. We do know that it has been apparent for a long time that the structure under which the present payroll tax is assessed would not be adequate in a time of economic recession. It could be foreseen that what has happened this year—the paying out of more to the unemployed than was coming into the fund—

would inevitably develop when employment was sharply reduced.

It is now apparent that something absolutely must be done in this field. Payrolls must be taxed to the extent that Oregon can build up a reserve for such economic conditions as we have this year. At the same time a thorough examination of coverage and benefits must be made. And if the present Oregon laws permits injustices the loopholes through which they are emerging should be plugged.

This is a big assignment the advisory council to the commission is undertaking. The 1959 legislature will either have to adopt the recommendations that come out of the council's study or have a program that will take the place of those recommendations. Another legislature cannot go home without having done something.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business? If not, the morning business is closed.

#### AUTHORIZATION FOR APPROPRIATIONS TO THE ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1490, S. 3632.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title for the information of the Senate.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 3632) to amend Public Law 85-162 to increase the authorization for appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission in accordance with section 261 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the unanimous consent request of the Senator from Oregon?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, on yesterday, the House passed House bill 12009, to amend Public Law 85-162 to increase the authorization for appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission in accordance with section 261 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes. That bill is identical with Senate bill 3632.

I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 12009.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the bill (H. R. 12009) to amend Public Law 85-162 to increase the authorization for appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission in accordance with section 261 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes, which was read twice by its title.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the House bill?



There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of the bill (H. R. 12009) to amend Public Law 85-162 to increase the authorization for appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission in accordance with section 261 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, House bill 12009 amends Public Law 85-162, the Atomic Energy Commission Authorization Act for the current fiscal year 1958, to increase the authorization to the Atomic Energy Commission by an additional \$35 million for construction of a prototype destroyer reactor plant.

This bill is identical to Senate bill 3632, which I introduced. House bill 12009 was reported unanimously by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, which recommended favorable action, and yesterday was passed by a voice vote in the House of Representatives.

The favorable statements made in the House are printed at pages 8154-8157 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for Tuesday, May 6, 1958.

The bill would only provide authorization to the Atomic Energy Commission, and does not involve appropriations at this time.

This matter was considered during two hearings of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, and I refer all Members of the Senate to Senate Report No. 1465 or House Report No. 1618, the reports by the Joint Committee on these bills, and to the record of the public hearing held on March 4, 1958.

Consideration of this bill is necessary at this time, in the opinion of the Joint Committee, in order that the Navy nuclear ship program may proceed on schedule. Admiral Rickover has testified before our committee that construction of this prototype could be expedited by about 6 months, without additional overall cost to the program, if orders could be placed at this time, rather than to wait for the fiscal year 1959 budget. Therefore, the Joint Committee, after due consideration, has voted unanimously to report the bill as an amendment to the fiscal year 1958 authorization act.

This project will be under the direction of Rear Adm. Hyman G. Rickover, a man in whom the members of the Joint Committee place great confidence. Admiral Rickover will be forced into retirement next year unless he is promoted to vice admiral in the near future. Upon the basis of his record, I hope this promotion will be forthcoming soon.

In connection with construction of this proposed project, I should like to quote from page 4 of the Joint Committee's report:

This project would provide authorization for appropriations for construction of a land-based prototype of a nuclear propulsion plant suitable for installation in a destroyer-type ship. In the construction of the reactor for the *Nautilus*, a similar procedure was followed, in that a land-based prototype was first constructed at the naval reactor testing station in Arco, Idaho. Similarly, in the case of the second nuclear submarine, the *Seawolf*, which utilizes a sodium-cooled-type reactor, a land-based prototype was constructed at West Milton, N. Y. This reactor prototype will be constructed at the West

Milton site, in the same sphere that was previously used for the sodium-cooled reactor prototype. The committee believes that maximum use should be made of existing facilities and installations in order to reduce the cost of the project as much as possible.

This project will supplement the nuclear submarine program. The *Nautilus*, *Seawolf*, and *Skate*, nuclear-powered submarines, are now operating in the active fleet. A total of 22 nuclear submarines have been authorized to date, and more are anticipated in the fiscal year 1959 budget. So I hope we shall soon have at least 30 nuclear-powered submarines in our fleet.

In order to meet the schedule in this program, this prototype should be authorized now. Therefore, Mr. President, I urge all Members to support House bill 12009.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to amendment. If there be no amendment to be offered, the question is on the third reading and passage of the bill.

The bill (H. R. 12009) was ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senate bill 3632 be indefinitely postponed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, Senate bill 3632 is indefinitely postponed.

#### PROSPECT FOR DISARMAMENT— THE FIRST FACTOR

Mr. FLANDERS. Mr. President, for the past few years during the course of its sessions it has been my custom to deliver in the Senate a series of short contributions concerning the problems of our foreign relations. I am about to begin the third series, entitled "Prospect for Disarmament." The speeches will not take more than 10 minutes each; in fact, I think, rather, they will be shorter than that.

Mr. President, the Congress of the United States, like the people of the United States, has been deeply concerned with the necessity for arriving at disarmament under terms of a just and enduring peace. The Senate has shown its concern by the establishment of a subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee under the able chairmanship of the junior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY], which has done excellent work in exploring the difficulties and possibilities of this crucial undertaking in human history.

"There is nothing sure but death and taxes," the old adage runs. Bombs, missiles, and satellites spell death. They also spell taxes. A recent analysis of the prospective acceleration of United States military expenditures between 1958 and 1970—if the arms race is not curbed—estimates that United States military defense spendings during this 12-year period may total \$700 billion. Assuming an average population for the 12-year period of 160 million, that amounts to nearly \$4,400 of expenditures for every man, woman, child, and newborn baby in the United States.

My main thesis is that disarmament is not simple, but that it likewise is not impossible. I would even say that the prospect can be hopeful. Not being simple would suggest that a brief talk like this would be inadequate to the occasion and that your speaker might better present a book of modest dimensions rather than these few words. However, much can be said in a condensed discourse.

First, let it be said that we cannot make the control of atomic weapons a main objective. Achievement of such control is at best a point on the road, to be passed on our way to complete disarmament. To pause there, thinking that in that spot we may eat, drink, and be merry is to misunderstand the dangers which surround us. The most that can be hoped for from an effective agreement for an inspected control of atomic weapons is that we will thereby gain experience and confidence for further negotiation. Having this conviction, I address myself to the main problem.

To attain disarmament under satisfactory conditions involves three factors. It involves persuading the American people to accept the necessary alternatives for war. It requires persuading the world of the honesty of our purposes and the intelligence of our means for attaining them. There is finally the necessity of persuading the Soviet Government to cooperate.

Please observe, Mr. President, that these are three concurrent requirements for disarmament. They are not successive steps. All three of them can, and must be, carried forward simultaneously.

The first factor is that of persuading the American people to understand what is involved in disarmament, and to back their understanding with action. We must, be carried forward simultaneously subject by itself. We have had approaches to it by way of the Kellogg treaties and the English-Japanese-American naval treaties. Such approaches are doomed to failure. Any approach is doomed to failure if it does not make provision for filling the vacuum which would be left if war were effectively outlawed. There would remain a necessity to compose differences between nations which now resort to a diplomacy based on arms and armament, or, finally, rely on an ultimate resort to armed conflict. We cannot eliminate warfare until we have filled the prospective vacuum with a satisfactory means of mediating between nations and until sanctions to make those means effective are provided.

I suggested that it would take a book to cover the topic herein discussed; but, fortunately for me, on this part of the topic the book has already been written. I would ask that my colleagues read and earnestly consider the book entitled "World Peace Through World Law," written by Grenville Clark and Professor Sohn.

This book is probably not perfect. The ideas set forth in it are the result of long study by men with lifelong experience in domestic government and international law, who are devoted to the construction of a world in which peace and justice shall prevail. The great task ahead is to persuade ourselves, the

American people, to accept the elements of supranational government which these authors so plainly show is a basic requirement for the necessary disarmament.

The Clark-Sohn study demonstrates the necessity for "world law against violence, limited to the field of prevention of war—a world law evolved from the political measures which mankind's experience over the centuries has shown to be essential to the maintenance of law and order."

Toward such world law and order, we are moving slowly—too slowly. Yet we are getting ready. Last year the Senate adopted by a voice vote a resolution asking for the establishment of a permanent United Nations police force. This is one of the requirements for the achievement of disarmament. It is a great undertaking to persuade ourselves, the American people, that we must get rid of our prejudices and must accept the inevitable changes if we wish to have our children live in a world free from the terror of modern armaments. Let us not falter in this persuasion.

In my next brief address, I propose to analyze the results of our endeavor to get the backing of the western and neutral worlds in our project for the achievement of a peaceful world. That these efforts have been on the whole unsuccessful is greatly to be regretted. It is, however, possible to examine the reasons for our lack of success, to redirect our course, and to build our future negotiations on the combined efforts of the non-Communist world. This, I shall endeavor to show.

#### ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT EISENHOWER AT REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE DINNER

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the body of the RECORD the text of the address delivered by President Eisenhower at the dinner given last night by the Republican National Committee in honor of Republican Members of Congress, as published in today's New York Times.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT DELIVERED AT A DINNER GIVEN BY THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE IN HONOR OF THE REPUBLICAN MEMBERS OF THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, HELD AT THE WILLARD HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 6, 1958

Chairman Alcorn, fellow Republicans, fellow Americans who are tuned in with us here tonight, first, my cordial greetings to the distinguished Republican Members of Congress who are here tonight.

For all that you are doing, together with our Republican administration, to help build a just peace and to keep America and the rest of the Free World strong and secure—also, for your efforts to preserve our citizens' freedom and initiative by helping to hold our Government to its proper role—you have my congratulations and my most deep appreciation.

To every American, regardless of party, I want to speak frankly of these efforts tonight.

Our two major political parties differ, of course, on many domestic policies. But beyond these are programs of grave importance to our country and to the peace of the world. They demand our attention as Americans, without regard to partisanship.

One reason I talk of such programs on this occasion is because they are on the very edge of action in the Congress. As Americans, as Republicans, as Members of Congress, we must shortly reach decisions of far-reaching significance to ourselves and to our children.

First, a bit of background.

We must, every one of us, never forget that we have entered an era that is for our country entirely new. Inescapably we live in a time of great uneasiness, in a situation of balanced terror in the world.

Looming across the seas is the menace of Communist imperialism. It rejects every human value of significance in our civilization. It is tyrannical, insensitive to the needs of its own people, contemptuous of religious faith and human dignity and worth, and obsessed with the goal of dominating the world.

Preoccupied as we are with our daily pursuits, too easily we lose our awareness of this evil force. We know that, throughout all history, marauders have been at large in the world. But today modern science and technology have placed instruments of almost unlimited power at the disposal of an ideology implacably hostile to all who live in freedom.

In just over a decade the science of destruction has become transformed. Nuclear explosives, ocean-spanning missiles, aircraft of great range and speed, submarines launching nuclear-tipped weapons of tremendous range—such developments have vastly increased man's ability to destroy and to kill.

That, my friends, is the pivotal fact of our time. We simply cannot indulge in business-as-usual attitudes and self-serving practices of an era that is no more. Our national survival and human liberty are at stake in the way we form and sustain our national policies.

Of the many imperative needs these grave considerations impose, tonight I ask you to join me in considering three:

First is defense modernization, the plan which I sent to Congress a few weeks ago.

Here, in the missile-nuclear age, we ask ourselves:

Is it unity we shall have—unity in strategic planning—unity in military command—unity in our fighting forces? Shall we have the most efficient, least costly defensive system we can devise to counter the deadly menace to our country?

Or—are we willing to settle for less? Shall we cater to service prejudices at the expense of efficiency? Shall we divide rather than unify our military power? Shall we tolerate confusion, rivalries, and inefficiencies in our Defense Department? Shall we tie the hands of our highest defense officials with restrictions adjusted to a military period that no longer exists?

Our choice is clear.

We must stand on the side of unity, efficiency, and flexibility—and this we must do in the interest of America's safety and solvency. And I believe that on this issue most Americans, regardless of party, stand with our plan.

Now let's look at the essentials of this proposed reorganization.

First, it unifies America's military planning.

Second, it makes sure that military orders move with the least possible delay.

Third, it integrates and therefore multiplies our battle power, no matter which services are involved.

Fourth, it gives our military leaders the professional assistance needed for unified planning and unified direction of our battle forces.

Fifth, defense research and development—amounting to more than \$5 billion a year in the Defense Department—is put under one responsible official empowered to stop unnecessary duplication and to cut out service rivalries.

Sixth, defense dollars are, in modest degree, made more flexibly available so emergencies and new technological developments can be handled at once, with maximum efficiency.

Seventh, confusion and needless restraints in present law are cleared away in the interest of efficiency, economy, and clear-cut civilian control over our Armed Forces.

Eighth—and this is one for which I particularly stand—the separate publicity activities of the various military services are put under central direction to discourage their abuse.

From these changes we can expect very specific results: A stronger, more efficient defense—a less costly, more tightly directed defense—and every spring, come appropriation time, a more rational, less noisy defense.

These results I believe our citizens, regardless of party, are determined to achieve. I am going to keep on doing my best to get those results.

Now, as to the second imperative need, the simple fact is this: Just as a military service can no longer win major battles by itself, no nation, not even the United States, can isolate itself from its friends and be secure.

In that statement is the whole case for mutual security.

I, of course, know about the wide misunderstandings and the many misrepresentations concerning this program. But the truth is that military and economic assistance is just as much a part of our own security efforts as our outlay for our own military defenses.

Let's remind ourselves of a few facts.

In the first place, under this program we have military alliances with 42 nations. We have bilateral treaties with Korea, Free China, Japan and the Philippines. We have multilateral agreements through NATO, SEATO, and the Rio Treaty, and ANZUS. No sensible American would want any of those arrangements weakened or breached.

Thus, through mutual security, we have forged a Free World shield against Communist force. Our partners abroad have, in 7 years, put up \$120 billion for their own and the common defense. To supplement that effort we have put up for them \$20 billion.

This \$140 billion means strength—and lots of it. It means airbases, naval bases, military installations of our own and our allies. It means soldiers, and ships, and planes. In no other way can we Americans generate from each of our security dollars as much defense for ourselves and for those who are joined with us against Communist imperialism.

Now in recognition of the soundness of the Free World's military defenses, the Soviets have lately turned more and more from military to economic assaults on Free World positions. So, while the need for military assistance remains—yet for all of us—the economic side of mutual security becomes day by day more essential to the common defense. That includes the security and freedom of every person listening tonight.

Since 1953 the Communists have signed almost 100 trade agreements with the less developed nations. They have loaned those nations some \$2 billion, at interest rates enticingly favorable.

Now these developments are very significant.

Throughout the Asian and African continents, vast reserves of human energy and natural resources are opening up in a way that has not happened for centuries. Knowing this—knowing also the Soviet maneu-



vers I just mentioned—we must make a fateful decision.

Either we idly stand by and watch this tremendous force funneled into violence, dissolution of orderly government and Communist exploitation; or—we help channel it into better education and improved living standards, and thereby strengthen peace and freedom everywhere in the world.

So far as I am concerned—and here again I believe I speak for the great majority of Americans—we have no alternative but to give that help. America's goal is peace and human liberty, not just a precarious truce based on force.

Twenty cents a day is the average income in most of the regions I have just mentioned. There the trained Communist agent is always at work. I propose that we not strengthen his hand by holding back our own.

And parenthetically, I remind everyone that 80 cents out of every dollar that we spend for mutual aid does not go to foreign lands. It goes to work right here at home. That means hundreds of thousands of jobs for American workers. It means large outlets for American machinery, and iron and steel, farm goods, chemicals and motor vehicles.

And, to each of us, the cost of all this military and economic assistance is about one airmail stamp a day.

These programs augment our own security. They help in the economic development of the Free World, so that each country may have a better economic base to help carry its own military costs. Finally, they give to all these countries hope, they give them a sense of achievement, and a rising living standard that makes of them our sturdy partners in the defense of freedom.

Now, stating these same results, in a converse way, and in the form of a question:

What would it mean to us, aside from the loss of thousands of jobs, if this program were stopped or sharply reduced?

Here is what it would mean:

A disintegration of Free World positions of strength;

A loss of bases and consequent weakening of America's strategic air power, therefore a weakening of the major deterrent to war;

A surge forward of Communist influence throughout the world;

A forcing back of the American defense perimeter ultimately to our shores;

Finally, our defenses compromised, our military requirements tremendously increased, our country drifting into a garri-son state—which could, if long continued, mean the loss of American liberty without the firing of a shot.

These, then, are some of the reasons why I feel so strongly about this invaluable program. So I ask you, and I ask every American, in his own best interest and for his country, to give America's mutual security his own all-out support.

Our third imperative need concerns world trade.

May I remind you of Mr. Khrushchev's recent remark. "We declare war upon you," he said, "in the peaceful field of trade."

Now I remind you of something else. America is the greatest producer in the world. We are also the world's greatest market. Unavoidably, the leadership in world trade lies with us.

Last year Free World exports amounted to about \$100 billion. America's exports were \$20 billion. This is more than all the consumer purchases of new automobiles, parts, and accessories in our country. It is more than all the furniture and household equipment bought by everyone in America. Farmers know something about world trade too. The products of 1 acre out of every 5 go overseas. Labor also understands this. World trade gives jobs to at least 4½ million Americans.

Now the other part of this question is imports. Last year imports were \$13 billion. Ten billion dollars of this amount brought us foodstuffs, partially processed manufactures, and most of our tin, mica, and asbestos, as well as platinum, nickel, and newsprint. It helped to meet part of our needs for iron ore, petroleum, copper, raw wool, bauxite, and burlap. These raw materials keep our factory wheels turning. They keep our assembly lines moving. America cannot prosper without them.

Of course, we must be concerned about imports of certain kinds of manufactured goods. Last year we imported a total of \$3½ billion worth of these goods. But we exported \$10½ billion worth.

Now, certainly we must protect manufacturing industries from being crippled by imports. But those who for that purpose would resort to rigid quota systems or excessive tariffs had better give serious thought to our 3 to 1 interest in exporting these very same goods.

And we must remember this: America has no monopoly on trade problems. Our friends have problems too. Nor do we have a monopoly on the double-edged game of trade restrictions.

And so in trade too our choice is clear: We will have reciprocity, or we will have retaliation. And I wholeheartedly choose the former. In passing, may I remind you that 50 years ago reciprocity was eloquently supported by a great Republican President—William McKinley.

Now, how does all this relate to the Soviet menace?

This way: If in their new economic offensive the Soviets, by using trade and aid, can bring free nations one by one into their orbit, they will as surely have paved the way for Communist control of the world as if they had conquered those nations by force.

And if friendly nations are denied the chance to trade with the Free World, they will be driven to trade with the Communist world. To live they must trade. It's as simple as that.

So we are back to the same imperative need I advanced in regard to defense reorganization and mutual security. I have, therefore, asked the Congress to carry forward our reciprocal trade program for an additional 5 years. Here again I ask all Americans, regardless of party—I would like to make a personal request of each individual in this room—to give their needed support.

Now, fellow Americans and fellow Republicans, these programs we have discussed tonight challenge us to place the Nation's imperative needs above partisan goals. Of course, we salute those members of the opposite party who have supported these programs with a zeal equal to that of many ardent Republican supporters in this audience tonight.

But now, speaking for our own party, I hold that the more nearly unanimous our Republican support for these programs, the stronger will be our country, the more effective the Republican Party in its leadership, and the greater our pride in our party's service.

We Republicans can also feel a similar pride in our handling of the many other public issues that in recent months and years have been directly touching our citizens' lives here at home.

I am convinced that by now the American people know that republicanism is simply another way of saying "responsible government"—that it means constitutional government—that it means honest, dependable government.

Americans know also that republicanism means responsive government. Responsive government is one which will use and has used available resources as needed to counteract economic troubles, while taking care that, not some Federal bureaucracy, but

rather private initiative and vigor, will be preserved as the mainspring of America's free economy.

Events of only the past 6 months are proof enough of this.

We have seen it in housing, where to accelerate construction we have, entirely aside from Federal Reserve Board activities, provided easier terms and increased funds for credit. We have also expanded the purchase, insurance and guarantee of mortgages, and stepped-up activities in urban renewal and college and public housing.

We have seen that proof also in public construction.

We have seen it in accelerated governmental procurement.

We have also seen it in our proposal to extend the unemployment insurance benefits of all workers who use up their regular benefits.

This sampling of actions evidences not only our party's positive response to economic needs; it also demonstrates responsibility, proportion and adherence to principle—the hallmarks of republicanism during all its years.

And now, my friends, let us not too easily forget that for the past 5 years there has been no war—that in early 1953 we removed stifling controls from our Nation's economy—that we initiated the greatest tax cut in history—that we have increased social security coverage—that we have managed the Nation's finances conservatively, to guard the value of the consumer's dollar—that we have reduced the number of Government employees by some two hundred thousand—and that we have set in motion a truly historic venture, returning to the States of responsibilities assumed too long and too often by the Federal Government in previous years.

Such are the concrete evidences of progress in the right direction. There are many, many more examples which should enlist support not only of our own party members but also the support of Americans everywhere who value such gains for themselves and for their country.

So it is responsive, responsible government at home—plus effective support for programs essential to America's peace and security. These, in a nutshell, are the Republican case before America.

With the able and dedicated leadership of our party's organizational machinery by my respected and close friend, Chairman Meade Alcorn—with concerted action by our Republican Members of the Congress—and with the enthusiastic effort of our party members throughout the land—and with the continuing help of independent voters and discerning Democrats—I am convinced that Republican prospects this year are indeed bright.

If we will but try—if we never forget the value of good, hard work—we are certain, with this record, to win next November. This is the sure road to a Republican 86th Congress.

For myself—you will find me standing beside you and with you. I shall do my best for every member of our Grand Old Party and for all others who with them are carrying forward the never-ending fight for peace, for security, for sound, sane, and progressive Government in America.

And thank you. Goodnight.

#### ACQUISITION OF PART OF KLAMATH TRIBAL FOREST

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 3051.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 3051) to amend the act terminating Federal supervision over the Klamath Indian Tribe by providing in the alternative for private or Federal acquisition of the part of the tribal forest that must be sold, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the unanimous-consent request?

There being no objection, the Senate resumed the consideration of the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs with amendments on page 2, line 9, after the word "than", to strike out "seventy-five" and insert "one hundred"; on page 4, line 1, after the word "conditions", to strike out:

Upon such reversion of title the lands shall become national forest lands subject to the laws that are applicable to lands acquired pursuant to the act of March 1, 1911 (36 Stat. 961), as amended.

And insert:

The conveying instruments for each sale pursuant to this subsection shall also provide for a reversion of title to the lands to the United States, not in trust or for Indian use, in the event a final judgment against the United States is recovered by the tribe based on inadequate sale price and the grantee does not within 60 days thereafter pay the judgment on behalf of the United States. If any title to land should revert to the United States pursuant to the preceding sentence, the full purchase price paid by the grantee, reduced by the amount, if any, by which the appraised value of the land at the time of conveyance to the grantee exceeds the appraised value of the land at the time of reversion of title to the United States, shall be returned to the grantee out of funds in the Treasury of the United States which are hereby authorized to be appropriated for that purpose. Upon any reversion of title pursuant to this subsection, the lands shall become national forest lands subject to the laws that are applicable to lands acquired pursuant to the act of March 1, 1911 (36 Stat. 961), as amended.

After line 23, to strike out:

(c) If all of the forest units offered for sale in accordance with subsection (b) of this section are not sold before January 1, 1960, the Secretary of Agriculture shall publish in the Federal Register a proclamation taking title in the name of the United States to all or any part of the unsold units that in his judgment are suitable for administration as a part of the national forest system. Compensation for such taking shall be the realization value of the units taken as shown on the appraisal referred to in subsection (b) of this section, and shall be paid out of funds in the Treasury of the United States, which are hereby authorized to be appropriated for that purpose not later than the time limit provided in subsection 6 (b) of this act, as amended. Such lands shall become National Forest lands subject to the laws that are applicable to lands acquired pursuant to the act of March 1, 1911 (36 Stat. 961), as amended. Any of the forest units that are offered for sale and that are not sold or taken pursuant to subsections (b) or (c) of this section shall be subject to sale without limitation on use in accordance with the provisions of section 5 of this act.

And insert:

(c) If all of the forest units offered for sale in accordance with subsection (b) of this section are not sold before January 1,

1961, the Secretary of Agriculture shall publish in the Federal Register a proclamation taking title in the name of the United States to as many of the unsold units or parts thereof as have, together with the Klamath Marsh lands acquired pursuant to subsection (e) of this section, an aggregate realization value of not to exceed \$90 million, which shall be the maximum amount payable for lands acquired by the United States pursuant to this act. Compensation for the forest lands so taken shall be the realization value of the lands as shown on the appraisal referred to in subsection (b) of this section, and shall be paid out of funds in the Treasury of the United States, which are hereby authorized to be appropriated for that purpose not later than the time limit provided in subsection 6 (b) of this act, as amended. Such lands shall become national forest lands subject to the laws that are applicable to lands acquired pursuant to the act of March 1, 1911 (36 Stat. 961), as amended. Any of the forest units that are offered for sale and that are not sold or taken pursuant to subsection (b) or (c) of this section shall be subject to sale without limitation on use in accordance with the provisions of section 5 of this act.

On page 7, line 16, after the numeral "1", to strike out "1960" and insert "1961"; on page 8, line 18, after the word "lands", to insert "pursuant to subsection (b) of this section"; on page 10, after line 2, to insert:

Sec. 6. No funds distributed pursuant to section 5 of said act to members who withdraw from the tribe shall be paid to any person as compensation for services in obtaining the enactment of said act or amendments thereto and any person making or receiving such payments shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be imprisoned for not more than 6 months and fined not more than \$500.

After line 9, to insert:

Sec. 7. Except as provided below the provisions of the act of August 13, 1954 (68 Stat. 718), shall not apply to cemeteries within the reservation. The Secretary is hereby authorized and directed to transfer title to such properties to any organization authorized by the tribe and approved by him. In the event such an organization is not formed by the tribe within 6 months following enactment of this act, the Secretary is directed to perfect the organization of a nonprofit entity empowered to accept title and maintain said cemeteries, any costs involved to be subject to the provisions of section 5 (b) of said act of August 13, 1954.

And, after line 20, to insert:

Sec. 8. Subsection (b) of section 6 of the act of August 13, 1954 (68 Stat. 718), as amended, is further amended by striking out "6 years" and inserting in lieu thereof "7 years."

So as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the act of August 13, 1954 (68 Stat. 718), is amended by adding a new section 28 as follows:

"Sec. 28. Notwithstanding the provisions of sections 5 and 6 of this act,

"(a) The tribal lands that comprise the Klamath Indian Forest, and the tribal lands that comprise the Klamath Marsh, shall be designated by the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture, jointly.

"(b) The portion of the Klamath Indian Forest that is selected for sale pursuant to subsection 5 (a) (3) of this act to pay members who withdraw from the tribe shall be offered for sale by the Secretary of the Interior in appropriate units, on the basis of competitive bids, to any purchaser or pur-

chasers who agree to manage the forest lands for not less than 100 years according to sustained yield plans to be prepared and submitted by them for approval and inclusion in the conveyancing instruments in accordance with specifications and requirements referred to in the invitations for bids: *Provided*, That no sale shall be for a price that is less than the realization value of the units involved as shown on the appraisal approved by the Secretary pursuant to subsection 5 (a) (2) of this act, which is hereby determined to be their fair market value if as much as 70 percent of the forest were offered for sale on a competitive market within the time limit provided in section 6 (b) of this act, as amended, without limitations on use. The terms and conditions of the sales shall be prescribed by the Secretary. The specifications and minimum requirements for sustained yield management to be included in the invitations for bids, and the determination of appropriate units for sale, shall be developed and made jointly by the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture. Such plans when prepared by the purchaser shall include provisions for the conservation of soil and water resources as well as for the management of the timber resource under principles of sustained yield. Such plans shall be satisfactory to and have the approval of the Secretary of Agriculture as complying with the minimum standards included in said specification and requirements before the prospective purchaser shall be entitled to have his bid considered by the Secretary of the Interior and the failure on the part of the purchaser to prepare and submit a satisfactory plan to the Secretary of Agriculture shall constitute grounds for rejection of such bid. Such plans shall be incorporated as conditions in the conveyancing instruments executed by the Secretary and shall be binding on the grantee and all successors in interest. The conveyancing instruments shall provide for a forfeiture and a reversion of title to the lands to the United States, not in trust for or subject to Indian use, in the event of a breach of such conditions. The purchase price paid by the grantee shall be deemed to represent the full appraised fair market value of the lands, undiminished by the right of reversion retained by the United States in a non-trust status, and the retention of such right of reversion shall not be the basis for any claim against the United States. The Secretary of Agriculture shall be responsible for enforcing such conditions. The conveying instruments for each sale pursuant to this subsection shall also provide for a reversion of title to the lands to the United States, not in trust or for Indian use, in the event a final judgment against the United States is recovered by the tribe based on inadequate sale price and the grantee does not within 60 days thereafter pay the judgment on behalf of the United States. If any title to land should revert to the United States pursuant to the preceding sentence, the full purchase price paid by the grantee, reduced by the amount, if any, by which the appraised value of the land at the time of conveyance to the grantee exceeds the appraised value of the land at the time of reversion of title to the United States, shall be returned to the grantee out of funds in the Treasury of the United States which are hereby authorized to be appropriated for that purpose. Upon any reversion of title pursuant to this subsection, the lands shall become national forest lands subject to the laws that are applicable to lands acquired pursuant to the act of March 1, 1911 (36 Stat. 961), as amended.

"(c) If all of the forest units offered for sale in accordance with subsection (b) of this section are not sold before January 1, 1961, the Secretary of Agriculture shall publish in the Federal Register a proclamation taking title in the name of the United States



to as many of the unsold units or parts thereof as have, together with the Klamath Marsh lands acquired pursuant to subsection (e) of this section, an aggregate realization value of not to exceed \$90,000,000, which shall be the maximum amount payable for lands acquired by the United States pursuant to this act. Compensation for the forest lands so taken shall be the realization value of the lands as shown on the appraisal referred to in subsection (b) of this section, and shall be paid out of funds in the Treasury of the United States, which are hereby authorized to be appropriated for that purpose not later than the time limit provided in subsection 6 (b) of this act, as amended. Such lands shall become national forest lands subject to the laws that are applicable to lands acquired pursuant to the act of March 1, 1911 (36 Stat. 961), as amended. Any of the forest units that are offered for sale and that are not sold or taken pursuant to subsection (b) or (c) of this section shall be subject to sale without limitation on use in accordance with the provisions of section 5 of this act.

"(d) If at any time any of the tribal lands that comprise the Klamath Indian Forest and that are retained by the tribe are offered for sale other than to members of the tribe, such lands shall first be offered for sale to the Secretary of Agriculture, who shall be given a period of 12 months after the date of each such offer within which to purchase such lands. No such lands shall be sold at a price below the price at which they have been offered for sale to the Secretary of Agriculture, and if such lands are reoffered for sale, they shall first be reoffered to the Secretary of Agriculture. The Secretary of Agriculture is hereby authorized to purchase such lands subject to such terms and conditions as to the use thereof as he may deem appropriate, and any lands so acquired shall thereupon become national forest lands subject to the laws that are applicable to lands acquired pursuant to the act of March 1, 1911 (36 Stat. 961), as amended.

"(e) The lands that comprise the Klamath Marsh shall be a part of the property selected for sale pursuant to subsection 5 (a) (3) of this act to pay members who withdraw from the tribe. Title to such lands is hereby taken in the name of the United States, effective January 1, 1961. Such lands are designated as the Klamath Forest National Wildlife Refuge, which shall be administered in accordance with the law applicable to areas acquired pursuant to section 4 of the act of March 16, 1934 (48 Stat. 451), as amended or supplemented. Compensation for said taking shall be the realization value of the lands shown on the appraisal referred to in subsection (b) of this section, and shall be paid out of funds in the Treasury of the United States, which are hereby authorized to be appropriated for that purpose not later than the time limit provided in subsection 6 (b) of this act, as amended.

"(f) Any person whose name appears on the final roll of the tribe, and who has since December 31, 1956, continuously resided on any lands taken by the United States by subsection (c) of this section, shall be entitled to occupy and use as a homestead for his lifetime a reasonable acreage of such lands, as determined by the Secretary of Agriculture, subject to such regulations as the Secretary of Agriculture may issue to safeguard the administration of the national forest.

"(g) If title to any of the lands comprising the Klamath Indian Forest is taken by the United States, the administration of any outstanding timber sales contracts thereon entered into by the Secretary of the Interior as trustee for the Klamath Indians shall be administered by the Secretary of Agriculture.

"(h) All sales of tribal lands pursuant to subsection (b) of this section on which roads are located shall be made subject to the right of the United States and its assigns to maintain and use such roads."

SEC. 2. Nothing in this act shall in any way modify or repeal the provisions of subsection 5 (a) of the act of August 13, 1954 (68 Stat. 718), providing for and requiring members of the Klamath Tribe to elect to withdraw from or remain in the tribe, following the appraisal of the tribal property.

SEC. 3. The act of August 13, 1954 (68 Stat. 718), is amended by adding at the end of subsection 5 (a) (5) the following sentence: "If no plan that is satisfactory both to the members who elect to remain in the tribe and to the Secretary has been prepared 6 months before the time limit provided in subsection 6 (b) of this act, the Secretary shall adopt a plan for managing the tribal property, subject to the provisions of section 15 of this act."

SEC. 4. The first proviso of subsection 5 (a) (3) of the act of August 13, 1954 (68 Stat. 718), relating to distributions in \$200,000 installments, is repealed.

SEC. 5. The second proviso of subsection 5 (a) (3) of said act, relating to Indian preference rights, is amended by deleting "any individual Indian purchaser may apply toward the purchase price all or any part of the sum due him from the conversion of his interest in tribal property" and by inserting in lieu thereof "any individual Indian purchaser who has elected to withdraw from the tribe may apply toward the purchase price up to 100 percent of the amount estimated by the Secretary to be due him from the sale or taking of forest and marsh lands pursuant to subsection 28 (b), 28 (c), and 28 (e) of this act, and up to 75 percent of the amount estimated by the Secretary to be due him from the conversion of his interest in other tribal property."

SEC. 6. No funds distributed pursuant to section 5 of said act to members who withdraw from the tribe shall be paid to any person as compensation for services in obtaining the enactment of said act or amendments thereto and any person making or receiving such payments shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be imprisoned for not more than 6 months and fined not more than \$500.

SEC. 7. Except as provided below the provisions of the act of August 13, 1954 (68 Stat. 718), shall not apply to cemeteries within the reservation. The Secretary is hereby authorized and directed to transfer title to such properties to any organization authorized by the tribe and approved by him. In the event such an organization is not formed by the tribe within 6 months following enactment of this act, the Secretary is directed to perfect the organization of a nonprofit entity empowered to accept title and maintain said cemeteries, any costs involved to be subject to the provisions of section 5 (b) of said act of August 13, 1954.

SEC. 8. Subsection (b) of section 6 of the act of August 13, 1954 (68 Stat. 718), as amended, is further amended by striking out "6 years" and inserting in lieu thereof "7 years."

MR. ANDERSON. Mr. President, this is an important bill, and involves a substantial sum of money. I think there should be a quorum call before the bill is considered, if the acting minority leader has no objection.

MR. THYE. Mr. President, as acting minority leader, I was going to suggest the absence of a quorum, but the distinguished acting majority leader indicates that he intends to do so.

MR. ANDERSON. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

MR. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MR. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, five compelling reasons call for passage of S. 3051, which has been reported favorably by the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee and which is before the United States Senate today. They are these:

First. Unless the bill is enacted, some 3.5 billion feet of valuable pine timber will be dropped in less than 2 years on an already-sagging lumber market in the Pacific Northwest, with disastrous economic consequences.

Second. Such a bargain-basement timber sale would result in the stripping bare of one of America's greatest ponderosa pine forests, with attendant perils to watershed protection in southeastern Oregon. It also would deprive nearby national forests of nearly \$50 million in timber revenues.

Third. In the absence of such legislation, a wildlife marsh used by nearly 80 percent of the waterfowl traveling the Pacific flyway would be destroyed.

Fourth. The bill is needed to assure a fair price for their property to the tribal members of the historic Klamath Nation of American Indians.

Fifth. Failure to enact this bill might be a permanent blot on our national policy affecting the Indian wards of the United States Government.

I could cite many additional reasons, but it seems to me these are sufficiently important and fundamental.

With the calling up of this bill, which I introduced on January 16, 1958, at the request of the Secretary of the Interior, we have reached the moment of a final decision on the long-debated Klamath Indian question—a question which was occupying the attention of Congress while I was still a high-school student in my native city of Portland, Oreg.

The very important piece of legislation that we are considering today is an amendment to Public Law 587 of the 83d Congress, known as the Klamath Indian Termination Act. This act was approved by the President on August 13, 1954. Last year it was amended by Public Law 85-132, which I introduced, in order to give us an additional period of time to study some of the unforeseen problems that had arisen in carrying out the original act. In my opinion, the measure now before us is of extreme urgency to the welfare of not only the Klamath Indians, the Klamath River Basin generally, and the State of Oregon, but also to the welfare of our country as a whole.

CONSERVATION VALUES AT STAKE IN BILL S. 3051

As my colleagues are well aware, I was not a Member of the Senate at the time this particular act relating to the termination of Federal responsibilities and settlement of the affairs of the Klamath Tribe was enacted. However, very shortly after my election, civic and official groups from all over the State of Oregon began urging that further consideration be given to certain questionable provisions of the original act. In

fact, conservation groups throughout the entire Nation requested the administration and the Congress to make some provision for the preservation of the great natural resources which they felt certain would be jeopardized, if the original provisions of Public Law 587 were carried out as enacted.

Let me go back for just a moment to acquaint my colleagues who are not fully informed on this particular situation with the background history of the Klamath Act. As early as 1928, the more progressive Klamath Indians were anxious to get possession of their share of the tribal wealth contained in the timberlands of the Klamath Reservation in Oregon, so that they might use it for capital for individual enterprise. This was initially reflected in the report prepared by the Institute for Government Research, commonly known as the Meriam report, developed back in 1928. At that time, they said that the question involved was one of how to preserve the property as a whole as a great national timber resource, and at the same time utilize the property for the advancement of its present Indian owners. They went on to say, as early as 1928, that the "intelligent progressive Indians, especially the Klamath, are anxious to have some plan devised whereby their interest in this great tribal resource may be utilized so that they can work with their own capital in advancing themselves." In the 72d Congress, S. 3588 was introduced by the late Senator Charles L. McNary, whose seat I have the honor to occupy. It would have provided for the incorporation of the Klamath Indian Tribe and would have made provision for the transfer of the Klamath property to a corporate entity under a trust patent, which could have been converted to a fee patent in the discretion of the Congress in not less than 50 years from the date of enactment. It would have provided that any member of the tribe, being a stockholder of the corporation, would have had the right to sell his shares of stock to the corporation.

#### KLAMATH ISSUE LONG BEFORE THE CONGRESS

In 1947, extensive hearings were held in Washington and later in Klamath Falls, Oreg., by a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Public Lands of the 80th Congress in relation to Senate bill 1313, which had been introduced in the previous Congress by our State's distinguished Senators, Guy Cordon and WAYNE MORSE, of Oregon. Although the text of the two bills varied slightly, the titles were identical:

To remove restrictions on the property and moneys belonging to the individual enrolled members of the Klamath Indian Reservation in Oregon, to provide for liquidation of tribal property and distribution of the proceeds thereof, to confer complete citizenship upon such Indians and for other purposes.

At that time, our distinguished colleague, Senator ARTHUR V. WATKINS, was chairman of the subcommittee which held hearings in Washington and in Klamath Falls. It is my understanding that, as a result of these hearings, the subcommittee became convinced that the Klamath Indians were retrogressing

under Federal trusteeship and that some form of termination of the trusteeship was necessary.

Between 1947 and 1953, there was a great deal of discussion about termination, and several more bills were introduced in the Congresses. However, nothing was done until the 83d Congress passed House Concurrent Resolution 108. This resolution stated that it was the policy of the Congress to terminate Federal supervision over Indian tribes as rapidly as circumstances would permit. In addition, House Concurrent Resolution 108 specifically named a number of tribes which the Congress felt were ready for immediate termination and directed the Department of the Interior to forward, by the following January, legislative proposals which would accomplish these terminations. The Klamath Indian Tribe of Oregon was one of the tribes so named.

By the time the Department submitted its legislative proposal for the Klamaths in January of 1954, the membership of the tribes had merged into two factions, neither with enough strength to assume distinct leadership. Nominal heads of these factions were members of the tribal council and the smaller governmental unit, the executive committee. Policy disputes became frequent, and when important policy matters came before the council, if there were disagreement, one of the groups often would walk out—leaving no quorum. This made it very difficult to obtain decisive tribal action on termination or other proposals placed before them. When hearings were held in the 83d Congress on the Department's proposal for termination, it was impossible for the committees of Congress to get any kind of clear-cut statement from the opposing factions as to what the tribe as a whole desired in a termination act. Finally, a series of conferences were held between the opposing groups—both represented by competent and able counsel—and the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Senators and Congressmen involved. A compromise was evolved which was endorsed by both Indian groups. This later became Public Law 587.

#### TWO THOUSAND ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-THREE TRIBAL MEMBERS ELIGIBLE FOR PAYMENTS

For the benefit of those Senators who are not acquainted with Public Law 587—which we are seeking to amend today—I would like to briefly summarize the major provisions of that act.

First of all, the Government was obligated to close the rolls of the Klamath Tribe and thus fix the final membership entitled to share in the tribal property. This has been done, and there are 2,133 Klamath Indians on the final roll.

The next step was for the Department to hire some management specialists who would supervise the carrying out of the provisions of the Termination Act so far as tribal property was concerned.

First, the specialists were to cause an appraisal to be made of the tribal property showing its fair market value if sold under the provisions of the act.

Second, immediately after the appraisal of the tribal property, they were to give each member of the tribe an opportunity to elect to withdraw from the tribe and have his interest in the tribal property converted into money and paid to him.

Third, for those members who decided to remain in the tribe, the specialists were to prepare a plan for the management of the remaining tribal property.

In my opinion, the management specialists have done their job well and with fidelity to duty. I particularly desire to commend Mr. Thomas B. Watters, of Klamath Falls, who has been a tower of strength in seeking not only to represent the best interests of the Indians, but also to try to safeguard and protect the timber, watershed, and wildlife resources of this very valuable and strategic Indian reservation. Without Mr. Watters' counsel and guidance, I would be far less effective and helpful than I may have been in this situation as chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs.

However, the 1954 Klamath Indian Termination Act contained what, in my opinion, was a fatal defect. This was a provision added at the 11th hour which permitted individual tribal members to withdraw from the Klamath organization and to receive their prorated share of tribal property. I was not a Member of the Senate in 1954. I do not know why this dubious and unwise provision was hastily inserted in the bill. I still fail to comprehend its acceptance by the Senate and the House, as well as the President.

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. NEUBERGER. I am happy to yield to the distinguished Senator from Utah.

Mr. WATKINS. I was not present in the conferences which were held between the Indians, their attorneys, and members of the House Committee on Indian Affairs, which prepared that proposed legislation and held hearings on it. However, my recollection is that the Indians themselves wanted that provision in the act. A large number of Indians wanted to be on their own, have their own property, go their own way, and change their place of residence if they desired. They felt that that provision would give them greater freedom, and that they were far enough advanced to take care of their own affairs. They felt that if they could obtain their individual holdings in cash or property they could take their proper place in society, and in the ordinary economic affairs of the Nation, wherever they wanted to live.

I think that was the reason which activated them, but I am not absolutely certain. If it was not the reason, their reason would have been a good one.

Mr. NEUBERGER. I thank the Senator from Utah for his observation and explanation. In my opinion, the Senator from Utah is one of the best-informed men in the Senate, if not in the country, on the entire question of the problems confronting the American Indian.

I feel that this particular withdrawal provision in the law is at the root of



many of the difficulties which have caused the Senator from Utah and me to devote so much time and thought to the effort to solve the Klamath problem.

When the individual members were allowed to withdraw, there and then was created the problem of dissipating the entire resource in a very short time, in order to satisfy their withdrawal claims.

I am grateful to the Senator for his explanation of the background of the legislation, because I was not then a Member of the Senate.

Mr. WATKINS. Does the Senator recall that there were two factions in the Indian tribe itself? One group wanted termination in such a way that they could get their individual holdings in their own names, so that they could operate as they pleased, as other American citizens did. It seems to me that that was one of the big controversies. As I recall, at the time no one anticipated that more than 25 or 30 percent of the Indians would actually wish to withdraw. We were all amazed, when a survey was made, and the Indians made their election as to whether or not they wished to withdraw, to find that approximately 77 percent of them wished to withdraw.

Mr. NEUBERGER. The Senator from Utah anticipates me, because in the next part of my speech I intend to refer to the rather high percentage of Klamath Indians who elected to withdraw, which caused a situation that undoubtedly was not anticipated.

Mr. WATKINS. It seems to me it is a healthy thing to have the Indians take such a position, for the reason that, instead of being a people who wished to participate, in a collectivist fashion, in a tribal venture, they thought enough of American free enterprise and the spirit of American freedom to make them desire to manage their own affairs, and not have some tribal or local government tell them what to do with their property, which was held more or less in common with other members of the tribe. While the problem may be difficult and troublesome for us, and while it might cost the Government a little money to obtain the property, if private enterprise did not actually buy the units offered for sale, eventually the Government would have to buy the property under the terms of the bill. By property, of course, I mean the pine forest lands. I assume the Senator has been mentioning them.

Mr. NEUBERGER. I have been, and I intend to do so further. I share with the Senator from Utah the feeling and the hope that, with the passage of the bill and its being signed by President Eisenhower, the Indians themselves will receive a fair price, and that the Government will in turn come into custodianship of rich forest reserves which will increase in value many times.

Mr. WATKINS. I am sure the Senator is correct. At the same time, the Government would probably pay a much better price than private enterprise would be inclined to pay.

Mr. NEUBERGER. That may be true, although Under Secretary Chilson did tell us that he hoped at least some of the units would be purchased by private industry. I do not know whether he is

right or wrong. I do know that it is a magnificent stand of timber, and it may be that perhaps some private operators will have the resources and the long-term capital to buy some of the units, as provided in the bill. Of course, if the units are not bought by private enterprise, then the Federal Government will be able to add them to its nearby National Forest lands.

Mr. WATKINS. That is what the bill provides, as I understand.

Mr. NEUBERGER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. WATKINS. I thank the Senator. Mr. NEUBERGER. I thank the Senator from Utah for his assistance.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will my colleague yield so that I may ask a question of the Senator from Utah?

Mr. NEUBERGER. I yield for that purpose.

Mr. MORSE. I should like to ask the Senator from Utah a question or two, for the purpose of making a legislative record on the proposed legislation. First, I should like to join my colleague in thanking the Senator from Utah for the assistance he has been to us time and time again in connection with Indian matters. I recall very well the consideration of the bill which was passed in 1954. I should like to check my recollection with that of the Senator from Utah, I should like to ask him if his recollection is the same as mine, namely, that the bill passed by the Senate at that time contained no withdrawal provision, but such a provision was added in conference. The bill passed by the Senate was recommended by the Bureau of the Budget and by the Department of the Interior. The Senator from Utah, who was chairman of the subcommittee then, did his best, as did those of us who cooperated with him, in trying to have a bill passed by the Senate which we thought would be helpful in the solution of the Klamath Indian Reservation problem. As I remember, it was not until the bill came back from conference that the withdrawal clause was contained in it.

I have never felt that the Senator from Utah or anyone else in conference was in any way responsible for the insertion in the conference report of a provision which would give the rise to perplexing problems we have faced since then. It was one of those matters into which, in my opinion, we did not go at the time because we did not know as the Senator from Utah has pointed out, what the probable results might be.

Would the Senator say that that is a fair statement of what occurred in 1954?

Mr. WATKINS. My memory has not been refreshed as to whether the bill went to conference. I have a recollection that the House inserted that provision, but I am not sure about it. As I remember, the House acted on it, and we finally accepted the House amendments, after we met with the Indian groups and the Indians had agreed to the program. As I say, I am not sure about it.

Mr. MORSE. I believe the Senator is right, that the provision was added in the House. The point I wish to make, for the purpose of the legislative history, is that it was added in the House, some-

what at the tail end of the session, about August 13, 1954, and that as the Record will show, there was no extended discussion on the floor of the Senate after the matter came to us from the House.

Mr. WATKINS. We wanted to do as much as we could for the Indians. After all, it was their property and their lives we were dealing with. Therefore we yielded as far as we could, in keeping with the policy which Congress had unanimously declared in the resolution to which the junior Senator from Oregon has referred. We tried to give the Indians as much their way as we possibly could and at the same time accomplish the overall purpose Congress had declared in its resolution.

I intend to speak on the subject shortly. This whole matter goes back many years, prior to 1954. When I first came to Congress, in 1947, request was made by the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. LANGER], of the Indian Bureau, for information with respect to the Indian tribes which were then ready for termination and were ready to take care of their own affairs. The Klamath Indians were on the list which was furnished by the acting Commissioner, Mr. Zimmerman. Even then hearings were held. This has been a matter of long study and has been before Congress time and time again.

Mr. MORSE. I should like to say to my colleague from Oregon that I appreciate his letting me interrupt him, so that the Senator from Utah and I could make this record. Some publications have taken us very much to task for the 1954 law, and I thought that the history of how it all happened ought to be made part of the debate.

Mr. WATKINS. We tried to give the Indians as much as we could of what they wanted. They practically wrote their own ticket when it came to the question of how they were to get their property.

Mr. NEUBERGER. I was not a Member of the Senate in 1954; therefore, I have no recollection of what happened. However, I am informed by the staff of the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs that the withdrawal provision was added in the House; and that when the bill was returned to the Senate, the Senate accepted the House version of the bill, rather than go to conference.

Mr. WATKINS. That is correct. Mr. NEUBERGER. That bill finally became the act which was signed by the President, and is known as Public Law 587.

Mr. WATKINS. I introduced the original bill of termination in the Senate, and then the House passed its own version after it was worked out in conference with the Indians. I thought the Senate committee had worked it out previously with the Indians, but in the meantime the Indians had changed their minds.

Mr. NEUBERGER. That has been known to happen, of course.

Mr. WATKINS. Not only in the case of this tribe, but other tribes also; and not only in the case of Indians, but now Indian people also.

Mr. NEUBERGER. Yes; and perhaps even more so in the case of white people.

I have not yet had satisfactorily explained to me why the 1954 act was "sweetened" by the inclusion of an extraneous per capita payment of \$250 to each Klamath tribal member—every man, woman and child—thus perhaps softening Indian opposition to certain controversial aspects of the legislation.

#### WITHDRAWALS THREAT TO SURVIVAL OF TIMBER RESERVES

But what is past is prologue, and we now are confronted with a condition and not a theory. Yet only about a year after the termination act had been in operation, a Stanford Research Institute preliminary survey disclosed that some 70 percent of the Klamaths might elect to withdraw and seek a conversion of the resources into their pro-rated tribal shares. This supports the point of which we were reminded by the Senator from Utah. After this percentage became known, many leading groups in Oregon—church, civic, conservation, labor, school and press—suddenly realized the perils lurking in Public Law 587. Leaders of such groups came to me in some desperation, urging that I aid with stopgap legislation in order to prevent the abrupt and hasty exploitation of the timber and marshes of the reservation so as to satisfy the legal and valid claims of the withdrawing Indians. That was my introduction to the Klamath crisis—my baptism under fire, so to speak.

The recent election has confirmed these fears since 77 percent of the tribal members elected to withdraw, as the Senator from Utah pointed out a few moments ago. The main asset that must be disposed of to realize the funds to pay these withdrawing members is the Klamath pine forest. To comply with the act and to satisfy the percentage of withdrawing members, it threatens to drop over 3 billion feet of prime ponderosa pine timber on the market, particularly at a time when the Oregon lumber industry is already enduring a grim economic crisis. I have been advised by the Chief of the Forest Service that this glutting of the Northwest lumber markets could cost the United States Forest Service, over the next 10 years, millions of dollars in timber receipts on adjoining national forests. Of more importance, it threatens one of the finest yellow-pine forests in the West with destruction. It is our task here today to solve this dilemma. It is also our duty.

On May 9, 1957, I introduced S. 2047 to provide for the acquisition by the United States of all tribal lands of the Klamath Indian Tribe.

The senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse] was a cosponsor with me of S. 2047. This bill had as its goal the assuring of a fair price for the 2,133 enrolled members of the Klamath Tribe to whom these resources belong as their rightful heritage. It provided for the Federal purchase of the entire Klamath Indian Reservation. Included in this reservation of particular interest and value is a great pine forest of approximately 750,000 acres which would have been placed under the supervision of the United States Forest Service. The vast marsh of approximately 15,700 acres,

used by some 80 percent of the birds traveling the Pacific flyway, would be made part of the refuge system of the Fish and Wildlife Service.

#### MARSH WILL BECOME WATERFOWL REFUGE

After a careful canvass of the situation prevailing in the House and the Senate, I came to the conclusion that the administration's proposal, which I introduced by request of the Secretary of the Interior on January 16, 1958, as S. 3051, and which we are here considering, had a somewhat better chance of enactment than my own outright Federal purchase proposal. I was advised that a number of persons were disturbed over the substantial sums required to buy the Klamath forest. It was stated that some private purchasers might be willing to purchase the forested areas and manage them on a sustained-yield basis. The administration's proposal embodied in S. 3051 provided for private purchase on this basis, and when the two bills were considered simultaneously by our Indian Affairs Subcommittee, I urged the committee to report S. 3051 with some slight amendments instead of my original bill. Both the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, of which I am chairman, and the full Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs have reported this bill unanimously. The chairman of the full committee, the distinguished senior Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY] has cooperated with me to the utmost of his capacity and authority.

The principal features of the bill now before the Senate are as follows:

First. The Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture will jointly define the boundaries of the tribal forest which should be managed on a sustained-yield basis.

Second. The 23 percent of the Indians who elect to stay in the tribe will have their portion of the forest allocated to them, and that part will be subject to management in accordance with a plan that is satisfactory both to the Indians and to the Secretary. This is provided for by the present law and would not be changed by this amendment. The proposed management plan which has been proposed is a private trust and it provides for sustained-yield management.

Third. The portion of the forest that must be sold to compensate the 77 percent of the tribal members who have elected to withdraw will be offered in appropriate units for private purchase. These units will be offered at not less than the appraised value of what they would bring on the open market, but they will be subject to sustained-yield requirements that are enforceable for 100 years by a forfeiture and reversion of title in the event of a violation of the requirements.

Fourth. The Secretary of Agriculture will buy at the appraised value the forest units not purchased by private industry and which are suitable for National Forest Administration. All units that are not purchased by private industry or the Secretary of Agriculture will be sold by the Secretary of the Interior under the present termination act. The latter category will not be extensive.

Fifth. The Secretary of Agriculture is limited, however, to the purchase of forest units that have an aggregate value, together with the tribal marsh, of not to exceed \$90 million. The maximum amount of property that will have to be sold on behalf of the withdrawing members is a little more than \$92 million, and it may therefore be necessary for the Secretary of Agriculture to adjust the boundaries of the forest units slightly in order to stay within the \$90 million limitation. I am assured by responsible Federal foresters that this can be done without imperiling in any way the sustained-yield operation of the vast bulk of the Klamath Ponderosa pine forest for at least the next century.

Sixth. The Secretary of the Interior will buy the waterfowl marsh at its appraised value of \$407,000, and he will add it to the national sanctuary and refuge system of the Fish and Wildlife Service.

In summary, I believe that S. 3051 will accomplish two major objectives:

First. It will obtain for the Indian owners of the reservation who wish to dispose of their share a fair market value.

Second. It will assure the people of the United States that the timber, water, wildlife, and recreational resources of the reservation will continue to be managed wisely for the benefit of all the people.

To be realistic, we realize signing by the President of S. 3051 will not end forever litigation over the vast resources of the Klamath Reservation. Human nature never will permit that—alas. Still, without such a measure as this, it will be impossible to pay the Indians a fair price and to save the lumber economy of southeastern Oregon for permanent and enduring operation. In the absence of S. 3051, the Indians will be compelled to accept bargain-basement prices for their resources, and those resources will be hastily liquidated and exploited. That is the alternative, so I feel no compulsion to pretend that this measure is perfect or without frailties.

Yet, in my opinion, this bill is a genuine must. It has been recommended by the Secretaries of the Interior and Agriculture; it has been approved by the Bureau of the Budget, and it has the full backing of the administration. It has received months and months of study and consideration by the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and I can assure Senators that it has been considered on a fundamentally bipartisan basis, under the leadership of the senior Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY]. I sincerely and strongly urge its enactment.

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. NEUBERGER. I yield.

Mr. WATKINS. I express my very deep personal appreciation and gratitude to the junior Senator from Oregon for the very fine cooperation and intense, efficient work he has done on this measure and the activities connected with it and for his efforts to bring about some sort of understanding.



When I first came to Congress in 1947, one of my first duties was as chairman of the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. During the same year, I held hearings in Oregon. Much of the work had to do with the possible termination program.

I appreciate also the cooperation of the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] and former Senator Cordon of Oregon with respect to the Klamath Indians.

I found all along the line, among State, county, and Federal officials, especially the Indian Bureau and the Department of the Interior, and among Members of Congress, as well, a desire to help the Indians in the best possible way. We felt, after all had been said and done, that the time had come when the Klamath Indians ought to be on their own; in other words, they ought to have been far enough along in education and experience to take care of their own property, or at least to begin to take care of it. Almost 12 years have passed since the recommendation was made in 1947, and there has been a long history of activity.

The junior Senator from Oregon came to the Senate at the time when the control of Congress changed.

I appreciate the fine cooperative spirit which has been shown in trying to treat the Indians in the best possible way. I also compliment the Klamath community, including the county of Klamath, and the whole State of Oregon, as well. I think the program will accomplish much in the years ahead, and that it will be successful, although it does have the defect which the Senator from Oregon mentioned.

Mr. NEUBERGER. I thank the Senator from Utah for his generous comments about me. I know I speak not only for myself, but also for the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], when I thank the Senator from Utah for giving so unselfishly of his knowledge and wisdom on the subject, and for the time and energy which he has expended to help the people of Oregon and the entire Pacific Northwest to solve the question of the Klamath Indian Reservation while, at the same time, we have tried to preserve its resources for the economy of the entire Nation.

Mr. WATKINS. I thank the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, the bill which is now before the Senate, S. 3051, amending the Klamath Indian Termination Act of 1954, is one of the more important bills which have been reported from the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs during this session of Congress.

The bill has as its objective the solution of a very complex situation which has arisen because of the termination program enacted in the 83d Congress for these Indians—a program which I considered very unwise at the time it was adopted.

In 1947, I participated in hearings with respect to proposed legislation to end Federal trusteeship over this tribe of Indians in Klamath Falls, Oreg. I felt at

that time that this group was not prepared for removal from the protection of the United States, and the committee apparently agreed with me because no legislation was enacted.

However, in the 83d Congress, following the adoption of House Concurrent Resolution 108, this tribe of Indians was selected for termination. The legislation which was enacted in 1954 to provide for termination was not perfect, and after its passage there began to appear very formidable problems in carrying out the law.

In 1956 I conducted hearings in Oregon on the subject of this program. We heard from many witnesses that the problems connected with the administration of the act were of such a character that some remedial legislation was essential in the 85th Congress if economic catastrophe were to be avoided in this section of Oregon.

At the outset of the 85th Congress I appointed the very able Senator from Oregon [Mr. NEUBERGER] as chairman of the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs. Within the space of a few weeks, the Senator from Oregon had introduced a bill to delay the Klamath termination program so that we on the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs could have an opportunity to investigate fully the operation of the Klamath program with a view to reporting to the Senate proposed legislation which would correct the perilous situation the original law had created. That bill was enacted in 1957.

Now, after more than 2 years of study, investigation, and prolonged hearings on the Klamath situation, the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has reported to the Senate S. 3051, which, if enacted, will at last hold forth the hope that some order will be restored to this program.

A majority of the members of the Klamath Tribe has elected to leave tribal life and have its share of the vast forest sold off. If we permit such action to take place, one of the finest sustained-yield stands of ponderosa pine timber left in the United States may be lost forever. Under present law, we would be forced to sell almost 4 billion board-feet of timber at a time when timber prices are very soft. This could only result in the Indians getting less than their property is worth and might very probably create a boom-and-bust economic situation in southeastern Oregon.

Mr. President, I shall not speak at length on this subject. The printed hearings on the Klamath bills are on each Senator's desk. They are replete with testimony on the consequences of inaction in passing legislation to amend the 1954 act. Senate Report No. 1518 recites the background of this whole problem, and why we must pass the pending bill.

Not only were extended hearings held, but the subcommittee after careful study reported the bill unanimously. In addition, the matter was the subject of long discussion before the full committee. We heard no objections, but several members made suggestions which they believed would improve the bill. After ex-

ploration, the committee made some additional perfecting changes, and again the bill was approved by a unanimous vote.

I take great pride in the fact that the committee took the bill which was sponsored by the administration and labored in bipartisan cooperation to bring it before the Senate essentially as the administration requested it. The members of the committee deserve commendation for their hard work on the measure.

Finally, Mr. President, I congratulate the junior Senator from Oregon [Mr. NEUBERGER] on the excellent work he has done in behalf of the Klamath Indian Tribe and in the interest of conserving the Klamath forest for all of the people of this Nation.

Likewise, I commend the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] for the splendid work he has done in furthering this program.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oregon yield to me?

Mr. MORSE. Does the Senator from North Dakota wish to have the floor in his own right, or does he wish to have me yield to him?

Mr. LANGER. I wish to speak for approximately 3 minutes on this bill.

Mr. MORSE. I shall be through in 4 or 5 minutes.

Mr. President, I wish to congratulate my colleague, the junior Senator from Oregon [Mr. NEUBERGER], who is the chairman of the Indian Affairs Subcommittee, and I also wish to congratulate the entire Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, for bringing before the Senate a bill which offers a solution to the complex problems which Public Law 587, of the 83d Congress, has presented. I also wish to congratulate the chairman of the committee, the senior Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY]; and I also offer my congratulations to the ranking minority member of the subcommittee, the senior Senator from Utah [Mr. WATKINS], for the great assistance he has rendered to those of us who have a vital concern in the Klamath Indian Reservation problems.

The solution promised by Senate bill 3051 is far better than the alternative of no solution. In this case, inaction would be tantamount to a catastrophe for the Klamath people and the economy of the area, and would threaten a vital natural resource which concerns the entire Nation.

Naturally, I am disappointed that the administration did not endorse Senate bill 2047 which was cosponsored by me, after the junior Senator from Oregon introduced the bill, as its author. That bill had bipartisan support in the State of Oregon. I am glad, however, that some of the principles of Senate bill 2047 were incorporated in Senate bill 3051 by the administration. However, the heart of the bill the administration has recommended—the provision which will permit sale, to large private timber companies, of the portion needed to satisfy withdrawing members—is the administration's own proposal.

The portion of the reservation which the nonwithdrawing Klamath Indians will manage for themselves will be offered under sustained yield and smaller

timber sales as they sell the timber to derive annual income. One of the compelling arguments for the enactment of this bill is that the forest, the watershed, and the land will be protected by sustained yield.

A second compelling argument for enactment of the bill is that the withdrawing Indians, as well as those who will stay in, will be protected from economic catastrophe. If the withdrawing members' timber were dumped on the market, not only would its value be reduced, but, in addition, the Indians who hoped to practice forest management on the balance of the property might be unable to sell their timber for a fair price on a glutted market.

Finally, this bill will insure that the adjacent public and private timber will not depreciate in salability and value, due to the dumping of Klamath timber. The committee report shows that the national forest alone might lose \$50 million in revenue from the sale of timber in the event of a quick sale of all of the timber on the reservation.

This bill grants private industry a chance to bid on the timber and to buy 77 percent of this reservation. I agree with the Senator from Utah [Mr. WATKINS] that provision for sustained yield should be made, because the public interest will, by means of the bill, also be protected by the reservation in regard to a sustained-yield program.

I am pleased that the committee accepted the suggestion from some of us that the sustained yield provision governing such purchases be lengthened. I note that it is set at 100 years. The report on Senate bill 3051 states that the bill "offers private enterprise a full opportunity to acquire this valuable property, but requires its operation on a sustained yield forest management and cutting basis." Thus, it is evident that the bill contains a real safeguard—namely if private enterprise does not come forward, the Federal Government is authorized to add this land to the national forest, where sustained yield will certainly be assured.

I still believe the administration erred in not endorsing Senate bill 2047. I think the junior Senator from Oregon and the Interior Committee have brought out the best bill they could, under the circumstances. I realize that if Senate bill 2047 had been reported, the President might have vetoed it. I shudder to think of the calamity that would occur if Public Law 587 were not amended. In any event, history will record whether Senate bill 3051 is the proper solution. I believe it is a very good, workable solution.

I wish to commend my colleague [Mr. NEUBERGER] for the long hours of work he has devoted to this vital problem. I believe it is true that he expressed concern about Public Law 587 even before he came to the Senate. He held hearings in 1955, in 1956, in 1957, and again in 1958. He secured stop-gap legislation last year. He worked to devise Senate bill 2047; and, as I have said, this bill had strong support in our State. He has done everything possible, in my opinion, to find a fair and just solution to an exceedingly complex problem.

Today, he has brought before the Senate, with the cooperation of the Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY], the Senator from Utah [Mr. WATKINS], and other members of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, a Senate bill to meet a deadline which cannot be put off. I am sure the people of our State, the Indian people, and all others who are interested in conservation appreciate the serious effort he has made to resolve this very complicated and complex problem. I have supported his effort to secure the passage of the best bill there is a legislative chance of having passed and enacted into law at this session of Congress.

I would have preferred the original bill which my colleague authored, and which I joined in sponsoring, namely, Senate bill 2047. However, I am convinced that Senate bill 3051, which now is before the Senate, does not compromise any principle of sound conservation policy, but constitutes the type of compromise for which the legislative process calls for—not a compromise of principle—but a compromise of policies and administrative procedures which in this instance will give us, I believe, Mr. President, a bill that is workable.

So, Mr. President, I am very happy to support my colleague, the Senator from Montana, and the Senator from Utah, in urging that the bill be passed.

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, will my colleague yield to me?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. NEUBERGER. I wish to thank my colleague for his very kind words about my efforts with respect to the Klamath Indian question. I wish to assure the Senate that all during this very difficult, trying, and prolonged period of attempting to reach a fair and equitable solution of this issue, I have had his full and complete cooperation. I am grateful for that cooperation.

Again, I wish to say that I know he joins with me in gratitude to two senior members of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, who have seen to it that the resources, the staff, the authority, and the prestige of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and, in particular, of its Indian Affairs Subcommittee, were geared to the attempt to do something about this question; I refer to the able senior Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY], the chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and the senior Senator from Utah [Mr. WATKINS], the ranking minority member of the Indian Affairs Subcommittee, who possesses such long experience in this field.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I certainly join my colleague in expressing appreciation to the Senator from Montana and the Senator from Utah.

I see that there is now on the floor of the Senate a very able Member of the House of Representatives, from the State of Oregon, Representative AL ULLMAN, in whose Congressional District the Klamath Reservation is located. I wish the RECORD to show that I deeply appreciate, as I know my colleague does, the cooperation which we have received

at all times from Representative ULLMAN in regard to this very complex problem.

Let me say to Representative ULLMAN that we hope the Senate will pass the bill today, and will put it in his lap, so to speak, trusting that the best possible solution in regard to it will be worked out in the House of Representatives.

I think the RECORD should also show that Representative ULLMAN has been of great help to the Oregon Congressional delegation in our deliberations on this very difficult and complex problem.

Mr. NEUBERGER. And our cooperation with Mr. ULLMAN will continue when he makes every effort—and I am sure his efforts will be successful—to have the bill (S. 3051) passed by the House of Representatives.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, it is a pleasure to hear my good friends, the Senator from the great State of Utah [Mr. WATKINS] and the Senator from the great State of Oregon [Mr. NEUBERGER] speak with such accord on this very complicated Federal termination problem. Although I am a member of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, I knew very little about this problem when it was first discussed in the full committee, several weeks ago. I had some grave doubts about this bill, when it was discussed at that time. I have since explored the matter, however, and am now aware of the need to amend the present act along the lines of Senate bill 3051.

Both the Senator from Utah and the Senator from Oregon have spoken about the complexities of Indian affairs, particularly as they relate to the Klamath Tribe, and have indicated the importance of the conservation of the great pine forest on the Indian reservation.

We know also of the importance of dealing honorably with the fine members of the Klamath Indian Tribe.

The efforts of the Congress, during the past several years, to help the Klamath Indian people acquire a new dignity, through the termination of the special Federal trust and at their own request is a good effort. Members of the present generation and of generations to come will be greatly benefited by this legislation. I believe that from a financial point of view this is a good investment.

The measure which we are considering today will protect for all the people of our Nation and for every following generation a mighty forest and a vast watershed. It will do justice to the Indian tribe and will relieve the Federal Government of its trusteeship responsibilities.

Our best national interest is represented here. The Senator from Oregon [Mr. NEUBERGER] and the Senator from Utah [Mr. WATKINS] have both worked hard to bring us an effective proposal, now represented by S. 3051. The Departments of Interior and Agriculture have proposed this as the best possible solution. It has the administration's support.

I personally wish to join my friends, particularly the senior Senator from Utah and the junior Senator from Oregon, in their support of this bill, and ask for its speedy passage.



Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ALLOTT. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. NEUBERGER. I am very grateful for the kind remarks the Senator from Colorado has made about my part in advancing the pending bill. Of course, I concur in what he has said about the role of the senior Senator from Utah.

To me, the Senator from Colorado displayed the highest type of statesmanship in this episode, because I realize he originally was opposed to the bill, or at least had some very serious doubts about it. After some of us had an opportunity to discuss it with him and show him what issues and problems were involved, he changed his mind, and he has been one of the most effective and loyal supporters of the bill.

I am sure the Senator will not mind if I take about 30 seconds to express appreciation to one of the good friends of the Senator from Colorado, Under Secretary of the Interior Hatfield Chilson. Mr. Chilson has been the member of the Interior Department who has been most occupied in presenting this very important proposed legislation to the Congress, although it involves a State which is 1,000 miles away from his own State, which is also the State of the Senator from Colorado. Mr. Chilson has always been cooperative and extremely effective in presenting to the members of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs the important reasons why this legislation must be adopted.

I know the Senator from Colorado shares with me that opinion of the work done by Under Secretary Chilson toward passage of S. 3051.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I wish to express my appreciation to the Senator from Oregon for his comments about my fellow Coloradan. I share the sentiments of the Senator from Oregon. I may say that not only in this field, but in the whole field of public endeavor, Hatfield Chilson, in my mind, represents one of the finest types of public servants.

I may point out to my friends from Oregon that when this matter came before the full committee—I was not a member of the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, of which the Senator from Oregon is chairman—it presented some very unusual aspects, which I think would challenge the inquiry and curiosity of any ordinarily prudent, intelligent legislator. I never at any time have been opposed to the bill. Perhaps the questions I asked on that day might have led to the impression that I was opposed to the bill. I have never been opposed to it. The first presentation of it simply raised questions. After spending some time studying the bill, although I realize the amount of time I have spent on it is very small as compared with the time spent on it by my friends from Oregon and Utah, I determined in my own mind that this was the only logical, fair, decent, and just way to accomplish the termination of Federal Government trusteeship and to be really honest and just with the Klamath Indian Tribe.

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ALLOTT. I am very happy to yield to the Senator from Utah.

Mr. WATKINS. I wish to join my colleague from Oregon in stating my appreciation for the kind remarks the Senator from Colorado has made about both of us in the activities we have carried on with respect to the pending bill. I think it is sometimes not realized by the public at large that this type of legislation is extremely important to many American citizens. I refer particularly to the Indians of the United States, in this case the Klamath Tribe. The pending bill will terminate a long history of guardianship by the United States of America. Although, under our law, the Indian people have been free for a long time, so far as individual liberty is concerned, the bill gives them full citizenship in the true sense of the word. When the bill is enacted they can control their property as well as their purse. That has not always been true in the past.

The Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs is rather unique in that all its members come from the West and from areas where there are, in some States at least, large Indian populations. It has been a great pleasure to work with these western Senators, because nine-tenths of the matters that come before us are handled in a bipartisan manner.

Mr. ALLOTT. I think that is an accurate statement.

Mr. WATKINS. In regard to Indian problems, it is true. It is very interesting to work with them, because, after all is said and done, we are dealing with the future lives and property of Americans, and such problems should be dealt with in a nonpartisan manner.

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, I wish to concur in what the Senator from Utah has said. There has been no partisanship in any way in the solution of this issue and problem, which I hope will be solved today with the passage of the bill. I doubt if Sherlock Holmes, with his famous magnifying glass, could have found partisanship in the handling of this issue.

Mr. ALLOTT. I agree with that statement. As the Senator from Utah has pointed out, the proposed legislation will have broad implications, not only with respect to the particular Indians involved, but with respect to the whole field of the Government's relations with the Indians.

I yield the floor.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I have been listening with a great deal of interest to the discussion of the pending measure, and I must say I am disappointed. This entire matter was before the Senate 12 years ago. It was considered carefully. The Acting Indian Commissioner at that time, Mr. William Zimmerman, appeared before the full committee. At first he testified that of all the tribes in the United States, none of them were fit to have self-government. It was the only time in all my experience in the Senate when the com-

mittee decided to put a witness under oath. After he was placed under oath and the record was being made, he said there were 12 tribes already fit to have self-government, and at the very head of them he put the Klamath Tribe from Oregon. That was 12 years ago. Yet during all the intervening time practically nothing has been done. Today for the first time we have the opportunity to do something about it.

I mention this fact, Mr. President, because it is typical of the kind of treatment which the Indians of the United States have been receiving.

Four miles from the beautiful little city of Palm Springs, Calif., want and hunger and poverty are to be found in a little tribe of 300 Indians. The women of the tribe have to carry water from a joint well a quarter of a mile in order to do their cooking.

Similar conditions may be found in Arizona, where the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER] and I went for the various hearings of the committee. A hospital in the vicinity of Tucson burned in 1947. The Department of Public Health had taken over looking after the health of the Indians a few months before, on the 1st of July. What was done? One of the agents of the Department was sent there. How long did he stay? He went from Washington to Tucson. He stayed on the Indian reservation 3 hours. Then what was his recommendation? He said that they might rebuild the hospital in 1959.

We called as a witness before our committee Dr. Salisbury, the head of the board of health of the city in Arizona where the hospital was located. He told the committee that before they were a year old, 17 percent of the babies died, and before the age of 21 was reached, more than half of the young Indians died.

We took the matter to the Senate floor, and, with the help of the Senators from New Mexico and Arizona, had it considered. Instead of waiting until 1959, within 3 weeks the Senate passed an appropriation of \$250,000 to get the hospital started, and provided for a total of \$2 million to complete it. The hospital is completed today.

Such an incident demonstrates that when a Senate committee is really on the job and is earnestly trying to work for the interests of the Indians, a world of good can be done.

The situation of the Seminole Indians is as I described it on this floor only a few days ago.

Today I wish to compliment Glenn Emmons, the present Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who in my opinion is one of the very first men to have charge of the Indian Bureau who has given it his full time, who has actively seen to it that the Indians are given the kind of treatment to which they are entitled.

Mr. President, regretfully—most regretfully—I point to the fact that a bill I introduced a year ago, to provide industry for the Indian tribes all over the country, still rests in the subcommittee headed by the distinguished junior Senator from Oregon.

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LANGER. I yield.

Mr. NEUBERGER. I should like to say for the benefit of the distinguished Senator from North Dakota that the subcommittee held very extensive hearings with regard to his bill, and his bill has been reported by the subcommittee to the full Committee on Insular Affairs. The bill was reported some 2 weeks ago, and it is presently before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, having been reported by our subcommittee.

Mr. LANGER. I thank the distinguished Senator. That is some of the best news I have heard in a long, long while. I am sure the action is due only to the hard work on the part of the chairman of the subcommittee, the junior Senator from Oregon.

Mr. NEUBERGER. I should like to say it was not necessarily due to my own hard work, but instead due to the hard work of the entire committee.

In fairness to the Senator from North Dakota, I should add that the bill was reported without recommendation, because it was felt such a piece of legislation as far flung in scope and as extensive and as monumental as that which the Senator introduced, should be decided upon only by the full committee. The bill has been reported from the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs to the full committee and is presently without recommendation, either favorable or adverse. That action was taken some 2 weeks ago.

Mr. LANGER. May I inquire when the full committee will consider the bill?

Mr. NEUBERGER. Of course, I do not know that. I cannot properly speak for the full committee, for the chairman, or for the staff. All I can say is that about 2 weeks ago the bill was reported to the full committee.

Mr. LANGER. Again I want to thank the distinguished Senator from Oregon.

Mr. President, the bill to which I have referred should have been passed long, long ago. The Indian Bureau was created in 1824. I hope Senators will think of that—1824, 134 years ago.

I have read the debates. At that time, long ago, it was said the Bureau was established in order to take care of the Indians of the United States.

When John Collier became Indian Commissioner there were 233,000 Indians on the rolls. Mr. Collier wanted more Indians on the rolls, so he looked around to find some more. He found 2,000 in Minneapolis and St. Paul. He found some more in New York. He found others in various places, such as graduates of Yale, Princeton, and other colleges. When he got through, there were 400,000 Indians on the rolls.

What is the situation with reference to the Indian tribes? I am sorry the distinguished senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER] is not present in the Chamber, because he was with me at the various hearings.

Senators will find in Montana one of the most disgraceful situations in the United States, so far as the Indians are concerned. Some Indians in Montana

had a little coal mine from which they were trying to make a living. Senators may believe it or not, but the United States Government would not buy the coal from the Indians, to be used in the Federal buildings in the State of Montana.

We might even go a step further, Mr. President. We found a bad situation in the State of North Dakota. The Senate had passed a measure providing that Indian labor should be used in the construction of Garrison Dam, and some Indians traveled 100 or 200 miles to reach Garrison Dam, to help build the dam. When an Indian became sick, he was taken to the hospital at Garrison, and when he came out of the hospital a short time later, he was sent a bill. That was the first time an Indian from a reservation had ever received a bill. At the Indian reservation, the hospital service was free. The Indian, of course, promptly quit his job. So did many other Indians. They then went back to the reservation.

The policy of the Indian Bureau has been to ask the Indians on the reservations all over the country to go to various towns to work. What do we find? We went to Arizona and took testimony. We heard the leaders of various tribes testify. They sat with the Senator from Tennessee and me and asked questions, and helped with the interrogating of witnesses.

Indian women testified before us. They said their husbands at first would go off 100 miles to work, but would come back in 2 weeks. Pretty soon the husband would come back in a month. Pretty soon the husband would come back once in 2 months. Then the family was broken up. They said, "We want industry on the reservation, so that the husbands will be able to stay at home with the families."

That plea was universal, wherever we went, in the various parts of the United States. The idea of giving Indians work 100 or 200 miles away from home is simply no good. I think Glenn Emmons, as Indian Commissioner, has that viewpoint.

The only way to prevent such a situation is to establish industries on or near the reservation. Under the guidance of Mr. Emmons, already in seven places in the United States industries operated by private companies are training Indian help, so that sooner or later the Indians can operate their own industries on, at, or near the reservations. Carl Beck, of the Indian Bureau, did an outstanding job in that connection. I was sorry to see him retire a short time ago.

In addition to the 7 industries already operated, some under the Sperry Co., some under the Bulova Watch Co., and so forth, we find that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs is considering 2 other places, so that at least 9 tribes will have industries on, at, or near the reservation.

The situation is ridiculous. I happen to be chairman of the Refugee Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary. We deal with refugees from all over the world. Consider the small country of Germany, and contrast it with the

United States. Germany was defeated in the war, and was practically without a government. Millions of refugees poured in. Kurt Erhart, a professor of political economy, was appointed to deal with the situation. Eight million refugees have been integrated into the German economy. Each one has his own home. Each one has his own job. So Germany has taken care of 8 million refugees, but we in the United States, who in Fourth of July orations, boast about what a great country we have—the richest and finest—and express our pride in the United States, should be ashamed of the fact that since 1824 we have not been able to assimilate among our citizenry 233,000 Indians.

In one State in the Union, Indians are not even allowed to attend public schools. Only a short time ago, under the present head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, some very fine regulations were adopted. If Indians attend public schools, the Indian Bureau pays a certain amount each month for each Indian child. If an Indian becomes insane, the State insane asylum under rules promulgated by Mr. Emmons, takes care of the insane man or woman and is recompensed in due time, by the United States Government.

I join my colleagues in saying that the bill we are now considering is one of the finest measures to come to my attention in a long time. I hope it will pass without a single vote against it. I hope it will become law, and that nothing but prosperity will result to the fine Indians in the State of Oregon, who in my opinion, will always owe a great debt of gratitude to the distinguished junior Senator from Oregon for pushing this measure.

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, the Klamath Termination Act of 1954 which we are seeking to amend today was a direct result of House Concurrent Resolution 108, 83d Congress, which was passed unanimously by both Houses of Congress. This resolution declared that it was a policy of Congress to terminate trust relationships with tribal groups and individual Indians as rapidly as circumstances with each would permit, and as rapidly as possible make the Indians within the territorial limits of the United States subject to the same privileges and responsibilities as are applicable to other citizens of the United States. This resolution further stated that the Klamath Tribe, as well as several others, was ready for termination and that the Interior Department should submit the appropriate legislation by the following January.

When the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, of which I was the chairman in the 83d Congress, began study of proposed termination legislation for the Klamath Indian Tribe, the committee files revealed that representatives of the tribe had journeyed to Washington to appear before committees of the House and Senate 15 times in the previous 40 years to discuss their status.

As early as 1930, hearings were held before the House and Senate committees on legislation providing for the final enrollment of Klamath Indians, and to permit incorporation of the Klamath Indian Tribe. Nine years before the



Klamath Act of 1954, legislation was drafted providing for the removal of restrictions on the property and moneys belonging to the individual enrolled members of the Klamath Tribe. Extensive hearings on this bill were held in 1946. Again in 1947 and 1948, hearings were held on bills proposed for a similar purpose.

Following the adoption of House Concurrent Resolution 108, the Department of the Interior submitted a bill as required in the resolution which would terminate the Federal trust for the Klamath Reservation.

On January 14, 1954, the tribal general council voted to adopt the draft bill in principle, subject to various modifications suggested at the tribal council meeting and yet to be worked out by the committee on legislation and the tribal executive committee.

Members of the advisory committee representing the Governor of Oregon attended the January 14, 1954, tribal general council meeting and cooperated generally with tribal officials in the deliberations on the matter of termination.

During the 1954 hearings two major factions of the tribe appeared before our committee and gave conflicting testimony. Some of them testified in favor of termination. There was no unanimity on the bill which was before the committee nor on what substitute measures would be acceptable. Following the hearings, however, the two major factions, each represented by competent counsel, held discussions with Department of Interior officials and with individual Congressmen and Senators.

As a result of these discussions a substitute bill was drafted and presented to the House Indian Affairs Subcommittee which was holding hearings on S. 2745. After the two Indian factions testified to the House committee that they endorsed the substitute measure the House adopted their recommendations and forwarded them to the Senate for concurrence.

I have given you this brief summary of events which led to Public Law 587 in order to show you that this law was not something that was hastily concocted during the 83d Congress, but rather the end result of years of negotiations and study. At the time this legislation was enacted I am sure that all Congressmen and Senators concerned were convinced that the termination of Federal supervision on these Indians was long overdue and that the Indians would have a much better future without Federal trusteeship.

Because of the complexities of this Federal supervision I am sure that none of us that were acquainted with the problem felt that Public Law 587 was a perfect law and that it would not require further amendments. We passed a number of termination acts—six I believe—during that session and we frankly contemplated that as the Department of the Interior started carrying out these acts, unforeseen problems would arise which might require modification. Several of these acts have been amended. One of the big problems which we did not foresee at the time of this act was the

fact that such an overwhelming number of the Klamath Indians would want to withdraw from the tribe and have their tribal assets liquidated for them.

We heard testimony that possibly 20 percent or 25 percent might make such an election. Instead over 77 percent have elected to withdraw. As the Senator from Oregon has explained to you, this poses a very serious conservation and economic problem in western Oregon.

This problem has been carefully considered by Department of Interior and Department of Agriculture officials, both in Washington and in the field. The measure we have before us today is their best judgment of an appropriate solution. After careful review by the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee we have concurred in their recommendations.

It is my opinion that Public Law 587 should be amended along the lines of the bill before us. If this is not done I am afraid that this all-important termination might fail. Such a failure would reflect on the whole policy of termination and might ultimately cost the Federal Government many times the possible expenditures this act calls for. I am hopeful that by first offering this great forest to private industry that private industry will respond and purchase most of the units. This would save the Federal Government substantial money. However, I am convinced that if private industry is not willing to purchase this forest and manage it on a sustained yield basis, that it is in the national interest to conserve this great forest and make it a part of our national forest reserve.

Mr. President, I wish to make it clear at this point that in considering the bill the members of the committee and others who have been concerned with this matter, whom I have mentioned, have proceeded on the theory that whatever we pay the Indians for the land, if the United States Government becomes the purchaser, is a fair consideration. What we are doing should not be interpreted in any way as a move to take from the Indians property which may be worth more than we are paying for it. As a matter of fact, under present economic conditions, I believe the compensation provided, if the United States should be the ultimate purchaser, is the fair market price as of the present times under the circumstances in the particular area.

I wish to make that point clear, because sometimes in the past, when the United States has made a fair deal with the Indians, a generation or so later people have said, that, judging by the record made at the time, the Indians had been cheated, and the United States took advantage of the Indians. This time I know that cannot be truly said. I believe the junior Senator from Oregon and others who have been dealing with this matter will fully agree that the bill provides a fair compensation for the Indians.

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WATKINS. I yield.

Mr. NEUBERGER. I wish to corroborate what the Senator from Utah has said about a fair price being paid. The

appraisal of this great ponderosa pine forest was made by the western timber services, which had a contract with management specialists, who were appointed by the Department of the Interior. They are a responsible agency, with well trained and able personnel. I have discussed the matter with Mr. Earle Wilcox, forester for the management specialists, who has probably had more experience with the Klamath Reservation forests than any other living man. He believes it to be a fair price. Those to whom I refer are technically trained in this field and have had experience with the area in question. What they have said supports what the Senator from Utah has told the Senate.

Mr. WATKINS. In addition to what I have said about my colleagues, the junior Senator from Oregon and the senior Senator from Oregon, and other Senators, who have acted on this matter in the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and on the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, I wish to say a word of commendation which is due to Commissioner Glenn L. Emmons, who has been very sympathetic in the consideration of all Indian problems. He has lived most of his life in the Indian country, and he knows the Indian people and their desires and ambitions. He knows how they have been treated in the past. I am sure he approaches a solution of Indian problems in a very practical and humanitarian way. Therefore I should like to commend him also. He is a man who has been very easy to work with, and he has been very cooperative.

I also wish to commend his assistant, Mr. H. Rex Lee, who has handled much of the detail in connection with the termination bills. I know Mr. Lee sometimes feels he is not appreciated. He is a front man, who works out in the field and meets with the Indians. At times they vent their wrath on him if they do not get exactly what they want. He has been made what might be termed, perhaps in not very dignified parlance, the goat. I have found him to be very sympathetic and very practical in his approach to these problems, and I wish to commend him.

Mr. Chilson, as has already been mentioned, comes from the area involved, and he knows the Indians. He knows their needs, and he tries to be very sympathetic and very much interested in their problems.

In conclusion, I wish to say a word for the Klamath Indians. I believe the Klamath Indian Tribe has great possibilities. I met with them in 1947, when a subcommittee spent a week in holding hearings and in visiting them and their forests and their institutions. I found at that time that practically all of them spoke the English language and understood it fairly well. We found that their young people were in school, and they were about as far advanced in education and training as any Indian tribe I have ever met; and I have met a great many of them. I believe that with this responsibility which now comes to them, with the right to take care of their own property and to manage their own affairs, they will grow in stature, and in

strength and in their contribution to this country. I believe that this is one of the greatest blessings that can come to an individual citizen, namely, the responsibility and the right to take care of himself. In fact, it is his duty to take care of himself so far as he can possibly do it.

In my judgment, we have been rather slow in giving more and more responsibility to the Indians to take care of their own affairs. I believe that now they will have to learn to manage their own affairs. Perhaps we will have to take similar action in the case of various other tribes at different times.

We have already terminated several small tribes in Oregon, and I believe that program is working very well. There are several small tribes in Utah and in Texas which have been terminated, and I believe the program is working successfully there also.

It is very difficult at times to convince many of our well-meaning friends, particularly those who have been organized in Indian associations, to understand what our motives are in placing responsibility on Indians and in giving them full control of their affairs. It is not with any desire whatever to make it possible for predatory interests to defraud them of their property or anything of that sort. I would be one of the first to try to throw around them every protection which might be necessary under the circumstances. However, in my short lifetime, I have found that people grow only with responsibility. It is not possible to supply them from the outside the ability to take care of their affairs; it can come only from within them. That philosophy applies to Indians as well as to non-Indian people.

I believe the Klamath Indians will have a great future if they proceed in the right way and are careful and prudent and cautious in the handling of their properties. I do not believe that anyone will deliberately try to cheat them, except possibly some who might want to do the same thing with non-Indian people.

There will be every opportunity for those who are not fully trained and who feel they are not competent to manage their own properties to obtain help. There is provision in the bill for guardianships for children and for the few Indians who cannot take care of their own property and manage their own affairs. Proper safeguards are included, and they will receive the protection of the laws of Oregon. They will be fully taken care of. I believe that a great many well-meaning people do not understand this; otherwise, they would not be making so many protests against the so-called termination program.

We find there are some Indians who are so well trained and who understand the complexities of modern life to the point that they do not want to have their trusteeship terminated, because to do so would impose upon them some of the responsibilities of citizenship, as well as the bestowal of blessings. I find that they are just like some of us. They like to get out of paying all the taxes they possibly can. They are clever enough to feel that

if by reason of termination they have to assume the duties of citizenship and help to maintain the Government by paying taxes, they would be better off to remain under the guardianship of the United States. Then they will not have to pay taxes on their properties, although they might have to pay them on their incomes.

Mr. NEUBERGER. I thank the Senator from Utah for what he has said about the Klamath Indians and their caliber and citizenship. I believe and hope that to the challenge and responsibility which are involved in S. 3051, the Klamath Indians will respond.

I express my gratitude for the assistance we have received from Commissioner Glenn L. Emmons and Associate Commissioner H. Rex Lee for helping present the legislation to the Senate, developing it, and assisting in its progress to the stage where it is about to be passed here today.

Mr. WATKINS. I thank the Senator from Oregon. I hope the bill will be passed unanimously.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendments.

The amendments were agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill (S. 3051) was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

#### THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH AND COMMUNITY IN REARING YOUTH

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the body of the RECORD an address delivered by Peter N. Chumbris, counsel for the minority of the Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, and former counsel for the United States Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee, before the Greek Orthodox Youth of America, at St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox Church, in Newark, N. J., on May 4, 1958, on the subject of Juvenile Delinquency.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### THE CHURCH AND COMMUNITY, ITS ROLE IN REARING YOUTH

(Remarks by Peter N. Chumbris, counsel for the minority, United States Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee, and former counsel for the United States Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee, before the Greek Orthodox Youth of America, Newark, N. J., May 4, 1958, at St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox Church)

Reverend Father Aloupis, ladies, and gentlemen of GOYA, Bishop Ezekial, of the Chicago diocese Greek Orthodox Church in North and South America, in his appearance before the United States Senate Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee in 1956, stated:

"I would like to point out the importance of religious convictions and of faith in God to all our citizens. The older ones—and the younger ones—if the older person is not well orientated, if he doesn't have a good philosophy on life, if he doesn't have the principles and faith in a Supreme Authority, in God,

then he is not able to guide a child. \* \* \* I would like to urge all people concerned to a missionary work throughout the country for the revival of religious faith and principles and ideals. Also, it is not enough to teach a child.

"Morality cannot be followed without an example. You live the American way of life and the Christian way of life, the religious way of life only if you see it lived in others and in your elders whom you respect."

Bishop Bernard Sheil, of the Roman Catholic diocese of Chicago, at the same hearings, stated:

"The New York Times a few years ago made a very definite contribution when they queried 50,000 high-school students and they found that out of that 50,000 two-thirds of them had never heard of the Ten Commandments. That is rather a shocking thing, when you come to consider it, because here is the law of the ages that gives us the norm whereby we are able to judge of our actions, and yet two-thirds of that 50,000 had never heard that there was such a thing as the Ten Commandments."

As our Lord taught His disciples in His Sermon on the Mount, you, as parents or community leaders, should: "let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works and glorify your Father which is in Heaven" (Matthew 5: 16) and in so doing set the proper example for youth to follow.

At the outset, it would do well to state that the juvenile delinquency problem in the United States is considered the No. 1 social problem. It is most complex and there are many facets of delinquency. The correction of one facet alone will not solve the whole problem.

The Senate Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency which has been holding hearings throughout the United States since the fall of 1953, has written volumes upon volumes of reports on what might be termed the causes and cures of juvenile delinquency. I could not possibly begin to discuss the broad subject of juvenile delinquency within the time allotted, and therefore, my remarks will be confined solely to the role of the church and the community in rearing the youth.

However, to give you a picture of the extensiveness of this problem, I will refer briefly to the significant subjects covered in our hearings:

1. The lack of sufficient expert personnel and facilities to cope with the child that has delinquent tendencies or has reached the state of being a juvenile delinquent or a youthful criminal.

2. Even where there are trained workers and proper facilities, there is a lack of coordination, guidance, and accountability by a central administrative body. State and city youth commissions, if properly operated, could appreciably correct this.

Included in this category are mental hygiene services in schools, proper detention, correctional institution, juvenile court, juvenile police, probation, psychiatric, and family and youth guidance facilities in a given community.

3. The impact of narcotics, liquor or indecent literature on juveniles.

4. The impact of crime and horror comics, crime television shows, and crime movies on youth.

5. Runaway fathers who abandon and fail to support their children.

6. Students dropping out of school and are unable to obtain employment.

7. Slum areas and antisocial conditions that have tendencies to lead youth to delinquency.

8. Youth gangs especially in highly populated areas.

9. Lack of recreational and community centers for youth.

10. Overcrowded classroom conditions and lack of other educational facilities for the



youth. Handling of delinquent and incorrigible students in our public schools.

11. Lack of proper welfare and health services to certain youth and the families.

12. Lack of proper religious training in the home and in the community.

13. Lack of parental responsibilities and discipline.

14. Parents who are not qualified to cope with the delinquent propensities of certain youth and who need professional guidance.

15. Black market in baby adoptions.

16. Problems of Indians affecting their youth.

I invite questions in any of the above categories at the end of my remarks. [One hour of questions and answers on many of these topics followed at conclusion of the talk.]

Let us now look to the role of the church and the community in controlling juvenile delinquency. It has been apparent for some time that the mere spending of money or the existence in a community of adequate, although mutually exclusive, services dealing with juveniles does not necessarily mean that a complete and satisfactory job is being done. Therefore, it has been suggested that because of the obvious diffusion of authority among these types of services—public and private—it has become necessary for many cities to develop a plan whereby the activities of all of them can be fruitfully coordinated.

In several cities and States throughout the United States, there have been established effective commissions on youth which have brought together all agencies (both public and private) who are interested in youth, for the purpose of coordinating their efforts for a most effective plan in the proper development of our youth in a given community. In a plan of a city or a State commission on youth there should be a church panel. The suggested plan calls for Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, and Orthodox Christians to be members of that panel and preferably a minister, a priest, a rabbi, and a reverend father to be included.

1. The responsibilities of the church panel would be to study and act in the referral of juvenile delinquents to the care of religious leaders of the church of their choice.

At our hearings before the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee in Chicago, Dr. Robert Bell, president, Church Federation of Greater Chicago, stated:

"The youth service bureau, successor to the boys' court service, is a social agency within the social welfare department of the Church Federation of Greater Chicago. . . . We have conclusively demonstrated the value of casework techniques for the treatment of delinquent boys. We find that there is no substitute for individual attention, understanding, and Christian guidance. We find that early diagnosis and treatment can prevent delinquency. Through the years the youth service bureau has supervised well over 10,000 boys, 87 percent of whom have received satisfactory discharges from the court."

This is an illustration of what a church organization can do in the treatment of a boy who has been before the juvenile court and released to a church group. It also shows that proper casework in early diagnosis can prevent a boy from becoming a delinquent.

2. There should be increased use of church buildings particularly in underprivileged neighborhoods.

This is most important, since in many congested neighborhoods, there are no playgrounds or community centers available to the youth, and those churches that have gymnasiums or ground facilities, that can be used by the juveniles in that particular area, can do very much to build the morale and character of the youth of that area by throwing their facilities open to the youth of all religious faiths.

This type of activity has been done in the past but it should be done on a uniform basis as soon as possible throughout the country. A collateral illustration can be made in certain large cities where there are not sufficient playground facilities within a city department and the boards of education collaborated with the city playground department and made the school grounds available to the city and the city provided the playground instructors so that there would be sufficient playground facilities for the children. This program should be encouraged on a nationwide basis.

3. Increased use of expert recreational leadership in social agencies and public schools for the training of church leadership for this task.

We have learned from expert testimony in our hearings that the church leaders in charge of youth activities must be well trained and well qualified to guide youth; otherwise, the most effective part of the program will be lost.

4. That church groups should within their own church attempt to provide sufficient programing on a full-time basis that this may reach all of the youths of the community, irrespective of age or sex. And further, that the church should make every effort to reach those persons of their respective faiths and denominations who are not active and churchgoing members.

You have heard jokingly that a juvenile delinquent will often quote "I would rather be found dead than caught in a church recreational center or community center."

It is up to the churches to be certain that they reach this type of a juvenile delinquent and do as Dr. Bell stated earlier, correct 87 percent of those entrusted to their care.

A well-organized church youth program can be of immeasurable value to the youngster who feels isolated and lonely and who has a strong desire to be accepted as part of something bigger than himself. The Hollywood First Baptist Church of Hollywood, Calif., is a striking example of what a church can do by adopting a preventive approach to the treatment of juvenile delinquency. (This church also has a very good rehabilitation program for those young people, whether members of the church or not, who have committed unlawful acts.) Rev. R. Lindquist stated they have 27 different groups for boys and girls sponsored by the church, meet during the weekdays. Fifty percent of the membership of these clubs come from outside of the boundary of the church and the Sunday school and from the community at large. Such programs make a boy ask this question: "What is the angle in this? Why are you interested in me? Nobody has ever taken any interest in me before."

The matter of preventing juvenile delinquency begins for the church in offering good counsel to both the parents of the child as well as the child. Counseling for marriage by the pastor is most important, and each church should have a definite program set up along these lines for those who plan to marry.

Following the marriage and the birth of children, the couple should find in the counseling minister the hope they need in adjusting to the changing culture of establishing a home and assistance and understanding, the moral and spiritual factors so necessary for normal living and to help the child in acquiring this knowledge.

The churches as a group should be most interested in demanding that in every city there are competent and trained guidance clinics to aid those parents who need help in rearing their children.

The church and the community have a further responsibility in the overall problem of youth services in making their views and positions on community matters effectively

known before other church and civic organizations and before the city councils and State legislatures as well as the Congress of the United States. This is most effective when these legislative and administrative bodies are concerned with new effective programs for the good of the community which must also provide funds to carry out those programs. With so many projects coming before State legislatures the program that is most effectively presented and the one that has the full support of the entire community will be the one that will be approved and funds provided to carry out such programs. Therefore, if the given community needs mental-health services, probation services, improved detention facilities, increased police services and so on, the church and the community must make its position known and properly presented to the given authorities to assure that the funds will be made available to carry out those programs. This, of course, means that the members of that church and the community, as individuals, must also exert similar efforts as the group is required to do.

During the course of the hearings in Pittsburgh, the council of churches was explaining the intensified efforts to curtail delinquency and to create programs to prevent children from falling into delinquent ways. An illustration was brought out where in Washington, D. C. in precinct No. 2, which was known as the precinct with the highest incidents of juvenile delinquency and crime, the church people, the community leaders and the business leaders conducted an intensified program of door-to-door campaigning to arouse the interest of parents in exercising a greater degree of control and responsibility over their children and urging them to do everything possible to assure that the children received the necessary instructions as to proper youthful behavior in the schools and in the neighborhood. This program bore fruit in that No. 2 precinct showed a remarkable decrease in juvenile delinquency behavior.

Another illustration was brought out in the Chicago hearings where residents from the Rothschild Foundation residential unit decided that they were not going to permit any youth delinquent behavior in that residential development. Bear in mind that this area was one of the worst slum areas, with a delinquency problem. The new residential unit had 8,000 families. In a 2-year period, not one case of juvenile delinquency was reported to the juvenile authorities. This is one of the most remarkable examples of what a community can do in curtailing juvenile delinquency.

Thomas Jefferson said: "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Mothers now march against polio by door-to-door fund campaigning. Mothers and fathers can be eternally vigilant in a march against delinquency by a door-to-door and block-by-block contact with the parents of the neighborhood so that there is a mutual interest in seeing that their children are in a neighborhood of proper environment.

An aroused, alert and coordinated community can do most anything. Corrupt governments and despots have been overthrown; gangsters have been run out of town; gamblers and houses of ill-fame have been shut down. Cities have been saved from raging floods and disease infested areas have been cleared to save the people from plagues.

The murder of a student in a schoolhouse or the rape of a young girl in a hallway of the school is enough to make any red-blooded American community's blood boil.

Recent reports show a 21 percent increase in 1 year in juvenile delinquency cases brought before the juvenile courts. Cases are not brought before the courts unless there is a serious violation.

But the most alarming thing is the high percentage of crime of violence against both

person and property committed by the 15- to 21-year olds.

We are not talking about stealing apples or breaking street-light lamps.

We are talking about crimes of violence and sometimes complete disregard for law and order in favor of the law of the jungle.

Therefore, if we want our children to be protected; if we want to assure ourselves that our own children will not be drawn in this spiderweb of delinquency and crime; then we as a church and as a community must join with other community groups in a house by house and block by block effort to make every resident an alert, aroused and constructive citizen in this fight against delinquency and return to Christian way of life for our youth. With such coordinated effort the public and private agencies will gain the support and funds needed to afford the proper facilities and trained workers through a centrally guided administrative body to wipe from the face of the map this raging disease and menace called juvenile delinquency.

#### CONSTRUCTION OF HELIPORT WITHIN THE DISTRICT OF CO- LUMBIA

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1535, Senate Joint Resolution 167.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution will be stated by title for the information of the Senate.

The CHIEF CLERK. A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 167) directing the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to cause a study to be made of all factors involved in the construction of a heliport within the District of Columbia.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the unanimous consent request of the Senator from Montana?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a statement explaining the purpose of the joint resolution be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### STATEMENT BY SENATOR BEALL

In this modern era in which we live, State and local governments are continually faced with the problem of planning ahead. We, the members of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, are no exception. This Senate Joint Resolution 167 is part of our planning.

The purpose of this joint resolution is to direct the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to cause a study to be made of all factors involved in the construction of a heliport within the District of Columbia. This is an original resolution from the Senate District Committee due to the request of the Commissioners of the District that we of the Congress should supply funds for them to carry on this study. This original joint resolution would accomplish this purpose.

In addition to the above stated purpose, the joint resolution would allow the Commissioners until June 30, 1959, to make a full report to the Congress of the results of the investigation and study, together with such recommendations as they deem advisable. It would also authorize the Commissioners to secure from any governmental agency information which may bear on the subject of heliports, and directs and authorizes these agencies to supply the information to the Commissioners of the District of Columbia.

There was no opposition presented to the resolution during the hearing. A Civil Aeronautics Administration representative indicated that planning now would be of great advantage in the future, due to the trend of building fixed wing airports farther away from the downtown centers.

The use of helicopters will undoubtedly become greater, and while the Washington National Airport can and does handle the comparatively light helicopter traffic that now exists in the National Capital area, the committee is of the opinion that the future will demand large and elaborate facilities within the downtown area. With the construction of Chantilly Airport and the present existing Friendship Airport, an obvious need for helicopter service into the downtown areas of the District of Columbia will naturally exist. Therefore I recommend to the Members of this body that this legislation be given your favorable approval.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution is open to amendment. If there be no amendment to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment and third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 167) was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

*Resolved, etc.,* That (a) the Commissioners of the District of Columbia shall investigate and cause to be made a study of all factors involved in the construction of a heliport or heliports within the District of Columbia on a site or sites convenient to and in close proximity with the downtown Government and commercial areas of the District of Columbia.

(b) The Commissioners of the District of Columbia shall, on or before June 30, 1959, make a full report to the Congress of the results of the investigation and study provided for under this section, together with such recommendations as they deem advisable.

SEC. 2. The Commissioners of the District of Columbia are authorized to secure directly from any executive department, bureau, agency, board, commission, office, independent establishment, or instrumentality of the Federal Government information for the purposes of this joint resolution; and each such department, bureau, agency, board, commission, office, establishment, or instrumentality is authorized and directed to furnish such information directly to the Commissioners of the District of Columbia.

SEC. 3. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this joint resolution.

#### AMENDMENT OF DISTRICT OF CO- LUMBIA ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGE CONTROL ACT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1536, H. R. 7300.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title for the information of the Senate.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H. R. 7300) to amend section 15 of the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Act.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill which had been reported from the Committee on

the District of Columbia with amendments on page 2, line 23, after "(e)", to strike out "In" and insert "Nothing contained in this section shall be construed as entitling a licensee to any preferential treatment or be construed as making inapplicable any provision in any other section of this act, in"; and on page 3, line 12, after the word "filed", to strike out "Nothing contained in this section shall be construed as entitling such licensee to any preferential treatment or be construed as making inapplicable any provision in any other section of this act."

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a statement explaining the purpose of the bill be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### STATEMENT BY SENATOR BEALL

The purpose of this bill is to amend section 15 of the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Act. The passage of this bill would alleviate certain difficult situations which are created under the act whenever the zone in which certain licensees have their business locations is changed to a residential or first commercial classification.

Existing law prohibits the issuance of retailers' licenses, except of classes B or E, for any business conducted in a residential-use district as defined in the zoning regulations and shown in the official atlases of the Zoning Commission, as well as wholesalers' and manufacturers' licenses in residential or first-commercial-use districts. The present law also requires that every annual license shall date from the 1st day of February in each year and expire on the 31st day of January next after its issuance. This prohibits the renewal of a license and for all practical purposes the transfer of a license for the same place of business where the zoning of the premises in which the business operates is changed in the case of a retailer or wholesaler to residential and in the case of a manufacturer to a commercial- or residential-use during the life of the license.

At the present time the number of locations to which a license may be transferred is exceedingly limited and expensive, with the result in many cases a business possessing an Alcoholic Beverage Control license will be destroyed by the change of zoning, a result which was not believed contemplated by either the Alcoholic Beverage Control Act or the Zoning Act.

This legislation would overcome the effect of section 15 of the act in those cases where a license is in effect and the zoning of the property is changed to a more restricted zoning classification than the former zoning classification and would permit the continued operation of a licensed business. This legislation would be most equitable to those businesses that are being forced out of business in Southwest Washington and in the future to businesses which are faced with zoning changes due to local redevelopment. Zoning legislation was never intended to destroy existing private enterprise.

This measure has the approval of the Alcoholic Beverage Control Board and the Commissioners of the District of Columbia. The committee unanimously approved the bill, and I therefore recommend to you its immediate passage.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendments.

The amendments were agreed to.  
The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment. If there be no further amendment to be



proposed, the question is on the engrossment of the amendments and the third reading of the bill.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill (H. R. 7300) was read the third time and passed.

#### AMENDMENT OF DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA POLICE AND FIREMEN'S SALARY ACT OF 1953

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1537, H. R. 7568.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title for the information of the Senate.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H. R. 7568) to amend the District of Columbia Police and Firemen's Salary Act to provide that service in the grade of inspector and the grade of private in the Fire Department shall be deemed to be service in the same grade for the purpose of longevity increases.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. BEALL. I ask unanimous consent that a statement on behalf of the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE] explaining the purpose of the bill be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The purpose of this bill is to amend the District of Columbia Police and Firemen's Salary Act of 1953, as amended, so as to clarify the language of existing law relating to longevity increases of officers and members of the Fire Department of the District of Columbia.

The present pay of an inspector in the Fire Department is \$5,174, or \$184 more than the pay received by a private, class 4, and both receive \$129 longevity increases for each 5-year period of continuous service completed in a grade. As a result of the narrow spread between the pay of a private and the pay of an inspector, a private who has completed one 5-year period of service entitling him to \$129 in longevity pay, upon promotion to inspector, receives an increase of \$55 per year. Since the same principle prevails as to privates who may have received 2, 3, 4, or 5 longevity pay increases, the result of existing law is that a private with one or more longevity increases, when promoted to inspector, receives an increase in pay of \$55 per year and loses the number of years of credit he had toward his next full 5-year longevity period.

Enactment of this legislation would have the effect of allowing each private promoted to the grade of inspector to receive a full \$184 increase and, in addition, include his time in the grade of private in determining his longevity pay as an inspector. Total cost of this bill to the District would amount to \$1,290 as of May 1, 1958.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to amendment. If there be no amendment to be proposed, the question is on the third reading and passage of the bill.

The bill (H. R. 7568) was ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

#### PENALTIES FOR INTERFERENCE WITH UTILITY LINES, PANAMA CANAL ZONE

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1351, H. R. 3604.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title for the information of the Senate.

The CHIEF CLERK. A bill (H. R. 3604) to amend section 831 of title 5 of the Canal Zone Code to make it a felony to injure or destroy works, property, or material of communication, power, lighting, control, or signal lines, stations, or systems, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

#### TESTIMONIAL DINNER IN HONOR OF AMBASSADOR FROM INDIA

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, it was my honor to participate in the planning of the testimonial dinner held in honor of the distinguished Ambassador from India, Mr. G. L. Mehta, at the Shoreham Hotel, Washington, on Wednesday, April 30, 1958. It was also my privilege to attend that testimonial dinner along with the large and heartwarming crowd of Ambassador Mehta's friends and admirers.

The evening was an unusual but appropriate honor for a distinguished statesman who was about to conclude his period of service here. I know of no Ambassador who has done more to generate understanding and good will of his nation than has Ambassador Mehta during his tenure in Washington. It has been an enriching and rewarding experience for me to know the Ambassador and to help, on occasion, on the great mutual tasks which face his country and ours.

The highlight of the evening was the speech delivered by the Ambassador himself, and I ask unanimous consent that the text of his remarks be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEXT OF SPEECH DELIVERED BY MR. G. L. MEHTA, AMBASSADOR OF INDIA, AT THE TESTIMONIAL DINNER HELD IN HIS HONOR BY THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE AT THE SHOREHAM HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C., ON WEDNESDAY, APRIL 30, 1958

During the last 5 years and 7½ months I have been in this country, I have addressed numerous gatherings of different kinds and at various places. But this evening, I find it difficult to express in words what I feel; for, if I may paraphrase the poet, words like nature half reveal and half conceal the thoughts within. I am deeply touched by the signal honor that such distinguished citizens of this great country have done me on the eve of my return to my country. I can sincerely tell you that this has made me feel more humble, more conscious of your generous sentiments than ever. I do not know in what language I can express my deep gratitude for what has been said tonight and for all that has been done to make this occasion what it is. It is a mem-

orable event in my life which I shall never forget.

I should like to take this opportunity of paying my tribute to Senator JOHN SHERMAN COOPER and the other distinguished Ambassadors who have preceded him and also to Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker for what they have done and are doing to interpret Indian aspirations to the United States and promote good will and understanding between the two countries. It is a recognition of the vital importance of India that Ambassadors accredited there are, if I may say so, selected with judgment and care by the United States Government. But I hope we may also take some credit for the fact that diplomatic representatives who have served there as well as officials working on technical programs have become so devoted to India. Despite our limitations and failings which some of our friends never fail to point out, we must have some good qualities to win the valuable friendship of so many persons accredited in one or other capacity to India. And, believe me, this is done without any attempt on our part at indoctrination, let alone non-ideological conversion.

During the time I have been in this country, I have had nothing but courtesy and kindness wherever I have gone. The people of this country are by nature friendly and informal and hospitable; and, above all, they are generous. But their friendliness has been due in no small measure to the growing awareness of the significance of India and of a genuine interest in and good will toward my country. This does not mean that people in the United States always agree with what we say or do any more than we agree with all the attitudes and policies of this country or of any other. Free countries do not necessarily or always agree with one another but that need not preclude mutual esteem nor deter cooperation for common purposes. What is essential is not identity of views but community of aims; not conformity and acquiescence but comprehension, patience, and tolerance. Surely, friendship if it is to be genuine and enduring should be capable of standing the strain of frankness on both sides. Misunderstandings arise as often because of a reluctance to discuss difference freely as owing to a tendency to magnify them out of perspective. Cordiality between nations rests, in the last analysis, on mutual respect. It is the mark of totalitarianism to insist on conformity within a nation or between countries; those who have democratic values recognize that freedom involves diversity. What we need for international cooperation are not satellites and camp followers but partners and friends working together on a free and equal basis.

To be in Washington at any time would be a privilege; but to represent a country like India for the last 5 years and more in such momentous times has been something of an onerous responsibility as well as an unusual opportunity. It has been a truly rich and rewarding experience. I have frequently stated that relations between India and the United States began when, in trying to discover India, Columbus stumbled upon America. We are, however, pre-Columbus Indians. I sometimes fancy that the tea chests which were thrown into the sea in Boston contained tea from India but I am told that that was not so. But by 1608, a company in Virginia was exporting iron ore to the East India Co. at 4 sterling pounds a ton. And Lord Cornwallis defeated at Jamestown became subsequently Governor General of India. So, we had many ties even two centuries ago. But to turn from mundane matters, cultural and spiritual contacts developed between our two countries over a hundred years ago when Emerson, Thoreau, Walt Whitman, and the Transcendentalists were influenced by Hindu philosophy and thought. Some of our great savants like Vivekananda and Poet Tagore

visited this country. During our national movement, we had the sympathy and moral support of people in this country including many responsible persons in Congress and in the administration. It was, therefore, only proper that the first diplomatic mission which was established by the national Government of India after independence was in Washington. And the first foreign country which our Prime Minister visited after taking office was the United States. For the last 10 years, our relations have grown closer in commercial, industrial, technical, and cultural spheres and the area of cooperation has steadily widened.

The United States has been a pioneer in formulating and working out the concept of aid by economically developed countries to those less fortunately placed. The Marshall plan and Point-IV program are outstanding illustrations of this concept. In pursuance of this policy, valuable assistance has been rendered to my country in its plan of economic and social development. Such aid given whether by way of loans, grants, surplus agricultural commodities or technical assistance has been a marginal but vital contribution to our endeavor for economic and social betterment. It is not merely the quantum of this aid that is important—although it amounts to nearly \$1.2 billion—but the spirit in which it has been made available. It has not involved any political commitments or extraneous interference in domestic or foreign affairs. Responsible people in this country recognize that such aid as has been extended to India has by and large been effectively used and that India has a coordinated program of economic development which is being implemented through democratic processes. India's efforts and achievements in economic and social spheres are widely appreciated and public opinion is aware of the importance of India's development for stability in Asia and the cause of democracy.

This is neither the time nor the occasion to tell you all my impressions of the United States or deal with current international problems. But I wish to speak to you something which is uppermost in my mind about the most vital issue which concerns us—the issue of peace which in this nuclear age means nothing less than the survival of mankind. Now, what I want to say is not meant to provide facile solutions for our riddles. No one, indeed, has complete answers to our difficulties, there are no panaceas in politics. No one is entitled to adopt a superior posture or castigate others. No one can cast the first stone who has not cleansed his heart. We are all groping to find a way out of a complex and baffling situation. As Burke said, "We can never walk surely but by being sensible of our blindness."

The main danger in the international situation today is the unending, almost ruinous arms race between the great powers which unless it is controlled and eventually stopped by positive acts of statesmanship might lead to war and untold destruction. As Bertrand Russell said recently in addressing words to ordinary human beings—Americans, Western Europeans, Russians, Asians, and Africans, "We are all in peril, in deadly peril, ourselves, our children, our grandchildren—not our great grandchildren unless we are successful; for, if we fail, we shall have none. In comparison with this peril, all other questions are insignificant. What will it matter who was right and who was wrong when no human beings have survived?" There is hardly any sensible person in any part of the world who does not realize the disastrous consequences of a nuclear war. But it is tragic that when there is such unanimity about the imperative necessity of eliminating war and resolving disputes by peaceful means, a wide gulf divides the powers and prevents a

meeting of minds. The result is that neither side is prepared to make any agreement or arrangement which would, in its view, substantially alter the balance of power based on nuclear weapons and missiles and military bases. This wide chasm is due to distrust and suspicion and fear. It is this mistrust that should be reduced, this acerbity that has to be diminished if the risks of a nuclear holocaust are to be eliminated. For, under the impetus of this mutual distrust and fear which both cause and are caused by the arms race, the objectives of diplomatic negotiations and differences between nations are lost sight of while bombs, warheads, rockets, and missiles tend to become ends in themselves.

The basic point, I suggest, is not the quantum and nature of armament but the deep cleavage which, however, cannot be bridged primarily by military means. "Saturation" appears to have been reached so that each side is capable of inflicting overwhelming damage on the other. There is, therefore, no point in accumulating further nuclear explosives. When one can utterly destroy one's enemy in a fortnight, I confess I do not see much point in piling up still more arms so that one can destroy him in a week. There can be no such thing as a limited nuclear war. Small wars will inevitably explode into big ones once atomic weapons of any size are used. The side that begins to lose—or believes it is losing—will use bigger and better (or worse) weapons. To seek to limit nuclear war and grade deterrents is, as someone has aptly said, like "controlling the temperature in hell with thermostats." Moreover, when there is an atomic stalemate, the deterrent ceases to deter since it is itself in a state of deadlock. Indeed, as past experience has shown, the security of one power may well mean insecurity for others; and deterrents themselves have, in the past, become a casus belli or a provocation. Even those who acknowledge that nuclear war would be a catastrophe still believe and declare that if it does take place, their own side could win it. So long as people believe that victory even at a terrible cost can be won, the risk of war remains. For, although arms are acquired to prevent wars, an arms race might through accident or design lead to hostilities. No one has described the awful balance of power today better than Winston Churchill who said that "Safety is the sturdy child of terror and survival the twin brother of annihilation." Even this balance of terror is not static because each side continuously tries to make itself stronger than the other, partly owing to fear and partly owing to a desire to get ahead. But absolute security in the present-day world is impossible of achievement and the search for "ultimate weapons" might lead to total annihilation when guided missiles might fall into the hands of misguided men. The whole issue of atomic tests is not primarily a technical problem, it is a moral question and should be considered as such.

Force has become so destructive that for all practical purposes its utility as the final instrument of diplomacy has been seriously impaired. Indeed, violence in a certain sense has reached a *reductio ad absurdum*; for the very possession of nuclear weapons seems to have paralyzed those who possess them since they cannot risk the consequences of their use. This was evident in the fall of 1956 in the Suez area and in Hungary. There is a Latin saying that "between the guns the law is silent." But the situation is now reversed: because of an atomic stalemate, the guns (or bombs or missiles) are silenced so that the law as expressed in the Charter of the United Nations and in diplomatic negotiations must speak.

The paramount need is, therefore, for sustained and sincere efforts to produce an at-

mosphere of mutual confidence. We should concentrate on our common interest of survival rather than on endless competition in producing more and more destructive weapons and faster and faster means of carrying them. "Let us by all means think for once not just in the mathematics of destruction" as George Kennan has said, "not just in these grisly equations of probable military casualties. Let us rather think of people as they are; of the limits of their strength, their hope, their capacity for suffering, their capacity for believing in the future." We are prone to conceive power in abstract terms, regard countries as entities and treat states as enemies. But let us not forget for a moment that the lives of countless men, women, and children are involved in this suicidal race of nuclear arms. We shall have to exist even before we coexist. We must assume the instinct of self-preservation on all sides. No country will be able to achieve world domination if there is going to be no world to dominate. Surely, it is extraordinary that an anxiety to see the human race survive on this planet should come to be regarded as visionary and impracticable. We are becoming one world in fear, let us strive to be one world in hope.

Man is conquering the air, harnessing the atom, mobilizing natural forces, reaching out to outer space. But while he thus seems to be acquiring power over almost everything, he does not appear to have conquered himself. He cannot, so it seems, overcome selfishness and vanity, envy and lust of power, hatred and fear. Yet as Emperor Asoka said on the morrow of his triumph as he surveyed the battlefield strewn with the dead and dying, "true conquest is the conquest of self." We should, as civilized beings, learn to think in terms of harmony instead of victory, equality rather than domination, goodwill and not rancor. What avails our reaching the cosmos if there is to be chaos around us? We shall not be able to attain our own particular heaven above unless we remove the hells from amidst us—dire poverty, disease and filth, ignorance and crime, fanaticism and strife.

There can, indeed, be no peace in the world unless there is peace in our hearts. This is no mystical incantation, no inscrutable religious injunction. It is plain common sense, a psychological fact which we cannot escape. "Real peace must always rest on peace of mind," observed Nietzsche long ago, "while the so-called armed peace as it exists now in all countries is the lack of peace of mind which does not trust itself nor its neighbor; and half from hatred, half from fear does not down its arms." How pertinent these words are even today.

As I recollect the awe-inspiring grand canyons which give a glimpse of eternity and speak silently of the transitoriness of life, or the radiant sunset on the Golden Gate which reflects a beauty that is immutable, or the rich colors of foliage during autumn in New England which illustrate vividly the continuous rebirth in nature, I have wondered how beautiful is this earth but how sad we make it because of our own follies and crimes. And yet, for the first time in human history, science has placed power and tools in the hands of men which can eradicate gross poverty and drudgery, can make possible a varied and healthy life, which can enable man to work and to enjoy leisure, and which has opened out new horizons for exploration and new frontiers of knowledge. Looking at this grim contrast between what the world can be if only we will it and to what disaster it might drift, I was reminded of what someone wrote to Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War in another context, "how vain to have the power of God and not to use it godlike."

How to infuse the goodwill and compassion and tolerance to make men use this power godlike? No "ism" will avail, no doctrine can show a shortcut. We want hearts warm



enough to end the cold war and heads cool enough to prevent a hot one. We want science with humanity, politics with conscience, power with love. The way to peace is a hard and dreary one beset with many disappointments and frustrations. Perhaps there has to be love and understanding between ordinary individuals even while statesmen and rulers grapple with conferences and argue about procedures and agenda. Perhaps, some simple, loving hearts have to change before the rest can follow. In a moving book, *A Bar of Shadow* by Laurens van der Post, John Lawrence, a brutally mishandled British prisoner of war, who wanted to forgive and save Hara, his Japanese jailer who had tortured him in prison, observes, "We may not be able to stop and undo the hard old wrongs of the great world outside, but through you and me no evil shall come either in the unknown where you are going, or in this imperfect and haunted dimension of awareness through which I move. Thus between us, we shall cancel out all private and personal evil, thus arrest private and personal consequences to blind action and reaction, thus prevent speculatively the general incomprehension and misunderstanding, hatred and revenge of our time from spreading further." But when Lawrence found that Hara had been hanged before he could reach him and be reconciled, he cried in anguish, "must we always be too late?" And let us ask ourselves again and again, are we getting too late in our search for peace which has eluded men for centuries but which in this nuclear age has become the imperative of our very existence? Time will not be invited to international confabulations but time will not wait.

#### LAW DAY

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, May 1, 1958, was celebrated throughout the United States as Law Day. It was an inspired idea to celebrate it on May 1, for on that day, as part of the worldwide Communist May Day celebration, tanks and missiles and tens of thousands of regimented Soviet citizens paraded before the Kremlin, in Moscow. But while the adherents of Communism around the world joined in their May Day celebration, we in the United States devoted our thoughts to the law. Nothing more clearly symbolizes the difference between us and the Communists than their glorification of revolution and force and our dedication to law and peaceful change.

The leading article in the issue of Time magazine for May 5, 1958, was devoted to commemorating Law Day. The article, entitled "The Work of Justice," itself is an illuminating discussion of the state of the law in the United States and in the rest of the Western World. A special feature attached to the article deals with the life and career of Charles S. Rhyne, the distinguished young president of the American Bar Association.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the two articles from Time magazine be printed at this point in the RECORD, in connection with my remarks.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### THE WORK OF JUSTICE

Green eyeshade under a crop of white hair, heavy shoulders bent over an ancient desk, the Harvard Law School's Dean Emeritus Roscoe Pound wrote slowly, pouring the

wisdom of his 87 years into his speech for Law Day, United States of America: "The law is the highest inheritance the sovereign people has, for without the law there would be no sovereign people and no inheritance."

Three thousand miles away in San Francisco, Superior Court Judge Thomas Coakley looked thoughtfully at the ax-hewn pine timbers of the oldest courthouse in California, picked up a pencil and began to write: "In the days when this courthouse was built, the law was young and often painful on this frontier. We developed in 1854 what our pioneers recognized, as did their forebears in the East, there must be a respect for the law."

#### A CHANCE TO CELEBRATE

In thousands of United States cities and towns, other men dedicated to the rule of law made plans for carrying their message this week into the Nation's courtrooms, classrooms and club meetings. On a train bound for Manhattan, veteran Washington Attorney John Lord O'Brien opened his briefcase, took out the notes he had dictated for his Law Day speech. In St. Louis, a Negro law student named John Alexander Madison and a Negro policeman named Dred Scott Madison studied their parts for the Law Day reenactment of the historic trial of their great-grandfather, Dred Scott.<sup>1</sup> In Seattle, Attorney Ford Elvidge was "digging into books I haven't cracked in 40 years," looking up English legal history for his Law Day speech. In Charleston, S. C., veteran lawyer Robert M. Figg pondered the difference in meaning between communism's May Day and the United States' Law Day: "I take it this date of May 1 was not chosen naively. It gives us the chance to celebrate our own way of life, while some others who don't believe in law are celebrating their way."

In Washington the President of the United States worked on the Law Day speech he would deliver to a nationwide television audience. And the Chief Justice and Attorney General of the United States made ready to travel to Philadelphia and Independence Hall. There, in liberty's shrine on the eve of Law Day, Chief Justice Earl Warren and Attorney General William Rogers would join in nationally televised ceremonies with the man who conceived the idea of Law Day: Charles Sylvanus Rhyne, president of the American Bar Association, prime mover in the campaign to get the United States this week to reaffirm its faith in the forces of law for peace.

That crusade began for Charles Rhyne last summer when he was installed in the American Bar Association's presidency at the 80th anniversary convention in London. On Runnymede's historic meadow, Rhyne dedicated the American Bar Association's monument in commemoration of the sealing of Magna Carta. In Westminster Hall, Chief Justice Earl Warren and then Attorney General Herbert Brownell of the United States, Lord Kilmauir, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, and the lawyers of two continents joined in a session that was, in itself, one of the great landmarks in the history of law (Time, August 5).

<sup>1</sup> The reenactment was to be held in the same St. Louis courthouse in which the Dred Scott case was tried—it remains standing as a museum piece. The case actually began as a simple assault and battery action. Scott, a slave, was mistreated by his owner, eventually brought suit for his freedom and won a favorable verdict in the trial court. That verdict was reversed by the United States Supreme Court under Chief Justice Roger Taney, which held that because Scott was a slave he had no rights of citizenship, and therefore the courts lacked jurisdiction.

#### "DO WHAT IS RIGHT"

Since London, Charles Rhyne has traveled far and fast. His 9 months as president of the American Bar Association have taken him more than 100,000 miles to make 180 speeches in 38 States. Wherever he goes, whenever he speaks, he returns to his theme: world peace through world law.

"In ancient times," says Rhyne, "disputes between individuals were settled by brute strength in a fight. We have now largely progressed to a point where such person versus person disputes are settled under the rule of law in the courts. But the rule of the jungle still largely prevails as the ultimate decider of disputes between nations. We must now progress to the point where the rule of law is applied in the courts to the disputes of nation versus nation."

"For those who complain about the mystery of international law and lack of precedents, I suggest they reflect upon the famous jury charge of Andrew Jackson in his frontier court,<sup>2</sup> and then reflect upon the growth of domestic law to meet the needs of our people. International law can do likewise."

No one knows better than Lawyer Rhyne that the rule of law cannot be imposed on peoples of the world until they have learned to understand and respect it. He knows, too, that understanding and respect begin at home. He originated the idea of the first Law Day as an opportunity for lawyers and laymen, too long carried headlong in the seething, exciting torrent of codes and laws, to take reflective inventory, to study and ponder the law's past and its present—from which it must derive its future.

#### "SUB DEO ET LEGE"

"Let all things be done decently and in order," said St. Paul to the Corinthians, and from the beginning, man's desperate struggling for order and justice has given force to the law. It gave force to the divinely inspired canons for human conduct of Moses; it gave force to the rule of the Hindu Manu, the Babylonian Hammurabi, the Roman Numa and the Greek Lycurgus; it gave force to the law as a human science in the Digest of Rome's Emperor Justinian; it gave force to the common law of England, based on principle, shaped by experience, controlled by reason.

That force survived and beat down the political absolutism of the 17th and 18th centuries, which held that the law was no more than the will of the sovereign. Sir Edward Coke immortalized Bracton's words—"Rex non debet esse sub homine, sed sub Deo et lege" (The king ought not to be under man, but under God and the law)—by flinging them in the furious face of absolutist James I. Then Coke fell to his knees in terror of losing his head—yet his doctrine lives today as the wellspring of the rule of law.

#### IF MEN WERE ANGELS

The American Revolution was a rebellion not to overturn that rule of law but to sustain it. Of the 56 signers of the Declaration of Independence, 33 were lawyers; of the 55 delegates to the Constitutional Convention, 34 were lawyers, steeped in the natural law tradition of Aristotle, Cicero and Aquinas and in the English common law, dedicated to Locke's proposition that sovereignty rests with the people, trained in the law by Coke's Second Institute.

What they sought was liberty under law, no less and no more than justice in a moral universe. It is self-evident, wrote Deist Thomas Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, that all men "are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights," that "among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and that "to

<sup>2</sup> Said Jackson to a backwoods Tennessee jury: "Do what is right between these parties. That is what the law always means."

secure these rights, governments are instituted among men." The guiding principle of the Constitution was explained in the *Federalist*: "If men were angels, no government would be necessary. In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself."

In *Marbury v. Madison*, 15 years later, Chief Justice John Marshall, like Coke unarmed except for the force of law, determined the right of judicial review over legislative decision, gave breath and blood to the American precedent as "a government of laws and not of men." So it was also that at the testing time of the Republic, Abraham Lincoln was a man who knew two books: the Bible and Blackstone's commentaries on the law.

#### PRINCIPLES AND RULES

In his speech for Law Day 1958, Harvard's Dean Pound makes the careful distinction between law and laws. Says he: "The vital, the enduring part of the law is in principles—starting points for reasoning—not in rules. Principles remain relatively constant or develop along constant lines. Rules have relatively short lives. They do not develop; they are repealed and are superseded by other rules."

Pound's emphasis on principle marks something of a revolution in United States thought about the law. For many decades powerful opinion held that the law stemmed not from fundamental, rational principles but rather from the needs of the day. In the complexities of modern life it became fashionable to hold that principles are as changeable as those needs. The United States lawyer who best symbolized this view was Oliver Wendell Holmes—the Magnificent Yankee. No one had a greater love of the law than Holmes, who sat on the Supreme Court from 1902 to 1932. Although often in the minority, he was the inspiration of two generations of legal scholars who were in rebellion against a conservatism which used principle as a cover for old-fashioned rigidity, and in so doing too often placed chains upon change. Fundamental principle, sadly, became a casualty of the rebellion.

Now, serious thought in the law has come full circle. After the explosion of World War II, after a decade of cold war against communism in the awesome dawn of the space age, the single, most dramatic development in the law of the United States is the return to the idea of first principles.

#### "MOST STRIKING FACT"

"There is a distinct resurgence of the notion of morality in the law," says Illinois' Justice Walter Schaefer. Reports Indiana's Professor Jerome Hall in the current *Virginia Law Review*: "The most striking fact about current national developments is the rise of natural law philosophies almost everywhere." Writes Massachusetts' United States District Judge Charles E. Wyzanski: "We live in a world where so many revolutions are occurring simultaneously that we clamor for stable principles to which we can anchor faith. . . . And nowhere more than in the law is there a demand that we address ourselves to the subordination of the world of fact to the world of value. No one trained in the Anglo-American tradition, who paused to consider what law was as administered by Hitler's judges, or who has tried to grasp the essential theories of Soviet jurisprudence, could remain entirely satisfied with a positivist, empirical approach to this profession."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Wyzanski also tells a story: "About 1915, Mr. Justice Holmes invited a then young United States district judge, Learned Hand, to accompany him as he rode toward the Capitol to sit on the Supreme Court of the

Says Mr. Justice Douglas: "In our scheme of things the rights of man are unalienable. They come from the Creator, not from a President, a legislature or a court." And the United States Supreme Court recently affirmed the little-noticed but profoundly meaningful decision of a Pennsylvania court in a morals case, which said: "Our Federal and State constitutions assume that the moral code which is part of God's order in this world exists as the substance of society."

#### PECULIARITY AND COMMONALITY

Upon this understanding of the principle of law stand the American Bar Association's Rhyme and many advocates of peace through a world rule of law. "Every human community that is regulated by laws and customs," said the second-century-B. C. Roman jurist Gaius, "observes a system of law which in part is peculiar to itself and in part is common to mankind." The peculiarities lie in the forms of laws and their enforcement. But the commonality—on which any system of world law must be built—rests in basic values, in the hunger of mankind for justice under the law and equality before it. "Peace is the work of justice," says an advocate of a world rule of law. And the peaceful settlement of disputes could come through a system of law, founded on what is common to the law of all communities. Says Rhyme: "The vital need for an adequate international system of law remains the greatest gap in the legal structure of civilization."

One approach toward filling that gap is through political organization, e. g., the United Nations. Yet the U. N., although valuable as a political forum, has been no conspicuous success in dispensing international justice, and its International Court of Justice has disposed of about one case a year for the last 12 years. An elaborate plan for strengthening the legal powers of the U. N. is found in *World Peace Through World Law*, a recently published book by Lawyers Grenville Clark and Louis B. Sohn. They urge revision of the U. N. Charter so as to provide for eventual total disarmament, an international police force, a vastly expanded system of world judicial tribunals.

There is, however, a growing body of opinion that the superstate idea, ignoring the brick-by-brick construction of any workable system of law, puts last things first. "May it not be," asks Dean Pound, "that universal law must precede the universal state? There is abundant evidence that there may be a generally recognized and accepted body of principles to which men are expected to adhere in their relations with others. . . . A world law may eventually lead to a world state when the world becomes prepared for it. But the essential thing is a world legal order—a world regime of due process of law."

#### RIGHTS WITHOUT FORMS

The very nature of a world regime of due process assumes that it would not appear overnight as a towering edifice, that it would be built step by difficult step, that it would embrace the principles that are common to nations and compromise the forms of laws which are peculiar. Almost ignored behind the headlines of world crisis is the fact that the United States in recent years has taken major steps in contributing to a world legal order.

Since 1951, for example, the United States has negotiated more than 40 status-of-forces

agreements granting friendly nations primary legal jurisdiction over American servicemen overseas who commit off-duty, off-base violations of law. The host nations guarantee each GI the basic rights of United States justice (e. g., a fair trial), but not the United States forms for securing those rights (e. g., trial by jury). The status-of-forces agreements cover some 14,000 cases a year without bruising the United States sense of justice. They received dramatic confirmation last year in the case of Army Specialist Third Class William S. Girard, who killed a Japanese woman, was tried amid United States hue and hubbub in a Japanese court without a jury—and received the justice which was his unalienable right. In the status-of-forces agreements the United States thus respects the integrity of the laws of foreign countries without sacrifice to the basic principles of its own law.

In last year's Suez crisis, the United States, as rarely before in the history of nations, forsook the rule of power for the rule of law. At basic issue was Nasser's seizure of the Suez Canal, and United States Government lawyers were by no means sure that Britain and France had the stronger legal case. When Britain and France fell back on force, the United States supported Egypt against longstanding allies. "There can be no peace without law," said President Eisenhower. "And there could be no law if we were to invoke one code of international conduct for those who oppose us and another for our friends." Thus was international sanction given to one of the principles that the United States regards as a basic, unalienable right: equality before the law.

#### ECONOMIC MAGNA CARTA

But there are far more positive ways by which the rule of law can be extended to world affairs. Much of the turmoil in modern international relations comes from the fact that new nations, arising from the ruins of colonialism, require capital for their national development, but are afraid of the political dependence that goes with it. Lawyers ask: Why not an international agreement that sets down the political rights and the economic responsibilities of the borrowers? Last year, speaking at the International Industrial Development Conference in San Francisco, German Banker Hermann Abs issued a ringing call for economic order through law. Such order, said Abs, can be achieved only through "an international convention by which all contracting parties, both typical capital-export and capital-import countries, undertake to treat foreign capital and other foreign interests fairly and without discriminations."

"Such a convention, which I may call a Magna Carta for the protection of foreign interests, should provide for a special international court of arbitration, which would determine whether cases brought before it involve violation of principles. I could well imagine that in case of particularly serious violations, the court of arbitration will be entitled by the terms of the treaty to oblige the member countries to refuse new private or public loans and credits to the country in default."

#### THE UNIVERSAL INSTINCT

Through such efforts toward an orderly system that satisfies the principles held in common by most nations, a rule of law can be established that exerts its force even on the legal outlaws who this week celebrate May Day in their own way. More and more, as men of law become familiar with the legal systems of other nations, they find—often to their astonishment—that there are indeed basic common values. Impressive evidence of this fact is found by Assistant United States Attorney General George Cochran Doub through his experience in handling United States Government litigation in the



courts of western Europe. "We find that each legal principle we know seems available in the same or other terms in the civil law countries," says Doub. "And so, may I suggest that no country has a monopoly upon right or equity, and that the instinct of justice is universal?"

To lead the way toward a rule of law, to discover the principles basic to all freemen, to apply to those principles the lessons of experience and the guide of reason is the great task of lawyers. It was in that spirit and toward that end that the president of the American Bar Association conceived of Law Day, United States of America. "The atomic and hydrogen bombs," says Charles Rhyne, "have attuned the people of the world to an overwhelming desire for peace, which is probably stronger than any such desire in all history."

"Here a great opportunity will be won or lost—an opportunity to insure peace under law. We lawyers must write the necessary legal machinery. To do this we must evaluate world law and develop new international legal machinery to maintain essential national sovereignty, yet provide for the peaceful settlement of disputes between nations under the rule of law." So doing, the United States could build on the experience of the past and the possibilities of the present to insure a peaceful future.

#### FROM COTTON FARM TO BAR PRESIDENCY

As Charles Sylvanus Rhyne, at 45 the youngest president in the 80-year history of the American Bar Association, talks about law day, he loses the leisurely North Carolina cadence of his speech; his brown eyes glint behind plastic-rimmed glasses; he clenches his fist, and his knuckles turn white. Law day is, essentially, the expression of his feeling for the law. And the law has all the deeper meaning to Lawyer Rhyne because he became a man of law the hard way.

Charlie Rhyne was born on a cotton farm in rolling Mecklenburg County, a few miles from Charlotte, son of the most wonderful mother and father any child ever had. In the rare moments of relaxation allowed him by his breakneck schedule, he contentedly remembers his 3-mile walk along dirt roads to the school where Miss Dewell Marshall taught 11 grades in one room; he remembers falling asleep during the hour-long Presbyterian sermons of Preacher Greer and Preacher Walker; he remembers the fish fries on the Catawba River and the swimming hole at Uncle Henry Rhyne's. He remembers, too, the time he played hooky with a pal named Mel McQuarry. When Charlie got home, his father was waiting with a razor stop. Next morning at school, the teacher started to give him a thrashing. Says Rhyne: "I argued as hard as I could that she shouldn't lick me because I'd already got my beating. I offered to pull down my pants to prove it, and she let me off. It was my first double jeopardy case."

#### HARD CASE

Charlie Rhyne's first view of the law in action came when he was 11 or 12. "A man who was a member of one of the big families of the county had his throat slit from ear to ear by his wife, an outsider," says Rhyne. "The feeling in the community against the girl was extremely adverse. The attorney who defended her was an old string-tie lawyer named C. W. Tillett. I begged my father into letting me go to the trial one day. Tillett engaged in flamboyant arguments, told the jury how it was self-defense, and the girl was freed. The fact that this girl got justice in a place where people didn't like her made a tremendous impression on me."

Rhyne's chances of following after Lawyer Tillett were dim indeed: his family simply did not have enough money to send him to college. After his farm years of milking,

plowing, picking cotton, bush-haired Charlie Rhyne got a city job as a Western Union messenger boy in Charlotte. With \$300 in savings in hand, he enrolled at Duke University. He had an early-morning newspaper route; he sold Bibles in West Virginia during the summer, and still ran out of money in his sophomore year and had to quit school. He hitchhiked West, dug storm sewers in Denver, earned some of his hardest-won dollars as a sparring partner in a local gymnasium until he was undone by a middleweight named Gentleman Ham Jenkins. After that he landed a job as a ranch hand in Wyoming's Jackson Hole country.

#### ON TO WASHINGTON

After another tour of digging sewers in Denver, Rhyne collected his savings and his wife, Sue, and headed back to Duke, where he completed his undergraduate course and entered law school (one classmate: a young Californian named RICHARD NIXON). He worked before school on a Durham Herald paper route, after school as a contractor's assistant, and in his spare time he got in a little work playing guard in scrub football games. But in an accident on his after-hours construction job, Rhyne mangled his right hand; the hand is still badly scarred, and the little finger is permanently stiff. Figuring that he could get a Government desk job requiring little use of the injured hand, he quit Duke, went to Washington with his wife, enrolled in the George Washington University Law School. Sue went to work as a clerk in the Hecht Co. department store, while Charlie worked first for the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, then with a hard-drinking trial lawyer, "who demanded that I work all night when it was necessary, and it seemed like it was necessary a lot of the time."

Rhyne got his law degree from George Washington in 1937, remained in Washington and hung up his shingle. Among his first clients were several cities fighting the price-fixing edicts of the National Bituminous Coal Commission. Rhyne lost the case, but it put him deep in the fields of municipal and administrative law, where he has remained. Through his single-minded devotion to work—"I've told Charlie often," says an old friend, United States Court of Appeals Judge Walter Bastian, "that he's going to be the richest dead man in the world if he doesn't stop working so hard!"—Rhyne has come to be senior partner of a nine-lawyer firm that occupies an entire floor in a Washington office building. He is a recognized authority in the field of aviation law, has appeared many times before the United States Supreme Court, won a decision in the Phillips Petroleum case that oil and gas producers have been trying to reverse ever since with highly controversial natural-gas legislation.

#### INSTRUMENT FOR PEACE

Along with his work and his rise in the practice of law, Rhyne worked and rose in the American Bar Association. When he joined the American Bar Association in 1938, it was dominated by an inner circle of old guardsmen, most of them interested in the American Bar Association only as a legal spokesman for right-wing political conservatism. Charlie Rhyne became the leader of a group of young turks determined to convert the American Bar Association into an organization for working lawyers.

Perhaps the most significant of the rungs that Rhyne climbed to the top of the American Bar Association ladder was his chairmanship of the organization's international and comparative law section. It had long been a hapless sort of debating society, of interest only to a few professional types. Says Rhyne: "We tried to make it a lawyer's section instead of a professor's section." In the process, the boy from the North Carolina cotton farm became devoted to the idea that the rule of law as known in the United States could, in the most practical possible

way, become a rule of law to bring peace to the world. And that idea has hallmarked the administration of Charles Rhyne as president of the American Bar Association.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, it was my great privilege to speak at the Law Day dinner of Georgetown University, held at noon on May 1, at the National Press Club, here in Washington. The distinguished President of Georgetown, Father Bunn; several United States Senators, Representatives, and judges; and President Rhyne, of the American Bar Association, participated.

An award was made in absentia to the Honorable Ronald N. Davies, United States district judge for the district of North Dakota, who gained national prominence last fall, in the momentous Little Rock case; and an award was made posthumously in memory of the late Frank C. Nash, the former Assistant Secretary of Defense, a distinguished American who gave so much of his life to his country.

In my remarks, I tried to raise the basic question of how well we in this country are today carrying out our commitment to law through persuasion, rather than force. After mentioning certain disturbing events in recent weeks which seem to me disruptive of respect for the law, I went on to comment about some of the fundamental choices which I believe now face each of us as we attempt to operate within the framework of law.

I said that I was afraid that the habit of treating as conspirators those with whom we disagreed now went very deep in our public life.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from my speech in which I elaborated on the point I have just mentioned, be printed at this point in the RECORD, in connection with my remarks.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the speech were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

As I look at the torrent of mail, including hate literature, which comes into my office, as I travel in various parts of this country, as I read the newspapers about current racial conflict in the South and some northern communities as well, it seems to me that we are increasingly clouding all of the real issues at stake under competing smokescreens of conspiracy. The White Citizens' Councils in the South who are shouting most loudly and most extravagantly are always crying conspiracy and are waving documents to show that the unanimous decision of the Supreme Court in the school case was a part of an international Communist conspiracy.

But there is an equal danger on the other side. In the midst of their understandable grievances and frustrations, some spokesmen have at times, it seems to me, blanketed all southern opposition to desegregation as a conspiracy against the Constitution and against fundamental human rights—equally ignoring on their side the varying degrees of opposition, of understanding, and of possible cooperation which may still exist.

At times this almost seems to be a mutual determination to solidify differences, to freeze antagonisms, and to set up barricades against those compromises upon which progress usually depends. The result is that in this domestic cold war of ours in the human relations field, we are increasingly getting little more than propaganda and counter-propaganda. Somewhere in the process, law,

respect for the law, and above all, respect for the process of persuasion on which our law fundamentally depends—these are forgotten. The opportunity for persuasion, indeed, the necessity for persuasion, is lost in the meantime.

The role of the law as a catalytic agent in resolving human differences is forgotten. The role of the law as a teacher through the process of reason and choice is lost. It is almost as though we had picked up one of those inoperable aspects of our foreign policy—massive retaliation—and let it permeate our thinking so that in the civil rights field we are faced with demands for massive resistance against demands for massive enforcement of the law.

The people who talk this way, my friends, are simply reducing the whole argument to a battle fundamentally hostile to the legal process. They are in fact turning the debate into a competition between conspiracies—conspiracies against the spirit of our laws.

Yet the spirit of our laws is faith in human reason. "The principle of an aristocracy is honor," says Montesquieu; "of a tyranny, it is fear; of a republic, it is learning." Aristocracy is withering everywhere in this age of the common man, this age of mass production, industrialization, and the universal franchise. But tyrannies we have with us, and the only antidote to tyranny is still a republic of learning. As I read reports from the South I see alarming signs in many communities that we are heading into a kind of tyranny, that is, that in many southern communities the minority which supports the Supreme Court decision is being silenced by intimidation and force, and that the white South itself will be won over to compliance with the Constitution not by persuasion but by force.

How do we break this vicious circle? It is undoubtedly beyond the power or capability of any institution of government, or private group. It will take the combined initiatives of many people.

In the field of civil rights I am hopeful that the newly created Federal Civil Rights Commission, as it sets about its job of inquiry and appraisal, will be an important persuasive instrument for progress. The wide diversity of background of the Commission's members, combined with their common reputation for reasonableness and decency, should give the Commission great persuasiveness with the American people—if it will set its goals and chart its course.

But it is not the civil-rights field alone that is endangered by our current competing doctrines of conspiracy. As I have said, it is the whole fabric of American law and respect for the processes of reason and choice on which our law must rest. To restore and revitalize these processes it seems to me that lawyers have the first responsibility, or at least that lawyers and educators share it jointly. They by their profession are dedicated to the process of persuasion, to the idea of a republic of learning. By their conduct and example, by their fearlessness in the face of intimidation and their respect for the resolution of issues through peaceful reasoning, by their refusal to treat their adversaries as conspirators, by their insistence upon entertaining the ideas of their adversaries no matter how much their adversaries try to act like conspirators, perhaps they can create a new climate. If this spirit is radiated from the courtrooms and the schoolrooms of the country, the subversion of our republic caused by the doctrine of conspiracy may be checked.

However, beyond this defense of the process of persuasion is another dimension to the problem. We must take an active role in the whole process of persuasion, not just in demonstrating respect for the process itself. As Lincoln said, "In this and like communities public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment, nothing can fail;

without it nothing can succeed. Consequently he who molds public sentiment, goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed."

President Eisenhower is right in stressing that the solution of any great issue such as desegregation depends on changing the minds and hearts of people. And of course, enforcement of the law is one good way of changing people's minds and hearts. People learn to drive on the right side of the street by obeying the law requiring them to drive on that side. But is he right in going no further than this?

He says he has told no one, "not even his wife" whether he thinks that the Supreme Court's desegregation decision is right or wrong. It is the law of the land, he insists, and that is that. But that is not enough for the President to say. For what controversial law was ever obeyed just because it was a law? Prohibition was not, nor was the Fugitive Slave law. The ultimate basis for the support of any law is the people's belief that it is right.

It is in this area that those of us who want to see the Constitution, as interpreted by the Supreme Court upheld and enforced, also have a job to do. Lawyers and educators cannot just cry law, when in part of the country there is no law that is accepted. A law—or court decision—is a teacher in that it asks of each of us a question: Is this a good, proper, just law? But the answer must come from us. In a republic the answer comes from "We the People." And on a fundamental question of law like this, it seems to me that the American bar has a responsibility that it cannot escape. In this regard, so far, it seems to me that it is we who have not been good to the law, it is we who are failing the law.

"The law will never make men free," Thoreau said; "it is men who have got to make the law free." I would add that it is lawyers and teachers of law who have got to persuade their fellow citizens to keep the law free.

#### ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF POLISH FREEDOM

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, on May 3, Poles everywhere who yearn for the freedom of their country and the world marked the 167th anniversary of the Polish Constitution promulgated in 1791. Since that time, Poland has been truncated by its neighbors five times—in 1792, 1793, 1795, 1939, and, most recently, in 1945, when Poland was obliged to cede 69,980 miles of its eastern territories to the Soviet Union, and received, ostensibly in return, 40,000 square miles of former German territory east of the Oder-Neisse line. The noose around Poland's neck was drawn tighter in 1952, when the present People's Republic constitution was adopted.

But to the Poles, to stifle the breath of freedom is not to stifle the spirit of freedom. The Poznan riots of June 1956 and more recent manifestations of uneasiness by students and workers are evidence that the meaning of May 3 remains inscribed in the hearts of Poles, as in the case of seekers after liberty everywhere.

We join in the wish that Polish Constitution Day will soon be commemorated freely in Poland, as it is in other nations where the centuries-old struggles of the Polish people for freedom will never be forgotten.

#### THE MUTUAL SECURITY PROGRAM AND THE RECIPROCAL TRADE PROGRAM

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, another imaginative and constructive article on foreign and reciprocal trade has currently appeared in the AFL-CIO American Federationist.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the article, which is entitled "Aid and Trade In Trouble," and was written by Hyman H. Bookbinder, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

##### AID AND TRADE IN TROUBLE

(By Hyman H. Bookbinder, AFL-CIO legislative representative)

Two important battles are now shaping up in Congress. Upon the outcome of these battles may well depend the economic health of the entire free world and the success of our struggle against world communism.

The battles will be over our mutual security program and our reciprocal trade program. Foreign aid and trade is the popular phrase for these two vital aspects of America's foreign economic policies.

Our aid—or mutual security—program is up for its annual authorization by Congress. The \$3.9 billion requested for next year would provide military, economic and technical assistance to nations all over the world which are not in the Soviet camp.

Our trade—or reciprocal agreement—program is up for a proposed 5-year renewal by Congress this year. First enacted in 1934, this program gives the President the power to negotiate lower tariffs and hence greater trade with other nations.

So important are these two programs—and so serious is the present threat to their continuation without crippling changes—that Washington was the scene in recent weeks of two most unusual gatherings. On one occasion more than 1,500 leaders of national organizations assembled to show their support for the mutual security program. A similar gathering brought together almost as many people in support of the reciprocal trade program.

What was unusual about these two conferences was that they brought together people from every walk of life and from both political parties. President Eisenhower addressed both conferences. And so did Adlai Stevenson. Former President Truman spoke out forcefully for the mutual security program. And there was the truly remarkable spectacle of having former Secretary of State Acheson and present Secretary of State Dulles speak out from the same platform in support of the same goals.

The AFL-CIO joined in support of both conferences, and many labor people participated in the important sessions. Business groups and farm groups—although not unanimously in support of these programs—were well represented. Religious, fraternal, peace, veteran and other groups were there.

But, as Adlai Stevenson pointed out, the tragedy is that the conferences were needed in the first place.

"It is a melancholy reflection upon our faltering position in a perilous world," he said. "Instead of planning for the future, we are still fighting battles we thought had been won in the past. . . . I deplore the need to reassure ourselves and a world grown dubious of our leadership that we are indeed leaders, that we are not seeking a way out but a way forward."

The conferences were held. The headlines were encouraging. Some new vigor was instilled in the efforts to retain good "aid and trade" programs. But the battles are far from won.



We must face up to the fact that the American people are not too sold on either of the programs. Many have fallen for the propaganda of the isolationists, the budget-balancers, and the high-tariff protectionists.

"Why pour more billions in foreign aid down the rat-hole?" these propagandists ask—implying that our billions in Marshall plan aid and Truman doctrine aid and our other assistance programs have not accomplished their objectives. But the facts prove otherwise.

"Let's stop the giveaway program," they shout in their appeal to the economy-minded, falling to point out how much more it would cost if America tried to do the impossible; that is, provide for adequate American military defense to take on the Soviet bloc all by ourselves.

"Let's worry about our own industries and workers first," they appeal in their efforts to establish higher tariff walls, conveniently forgetting the millions of American workers who are dependent on foreign trade for their jobs.

If the American people only knew the real story behind the mutual-security and the reciprocal-trade programs, they would surely support them. It is to be hoped that the Washington conferences will help get this understanding to the people back home.

Organized labor has devoted much study to both these programs, and there has never been any wavering in our support of them. There are some groups of workers who believe that the present trade program hits them too severely, but even they do not question the wisdom of the reciprocal-trade program generally.

At its meeting early this year, the AFL-CIO executive council adopted a resolution on foreign economic policy which clearly sets out the underlying philosophy behind our support of both aid and trade. It states, in part:

"The economic policy of the United States in the international arena must be attuned to the welfare and security of our own Nation and the economic requirements and aspirations of the peoples of the free world. Our leadership of the democratic forces of the world and our own national security require that in our economic policies the United States must not turn its back on the rest of the world.

"Americans must realize that we cannot build our own prosperity and security in economic isolation. In our economic no less than in our political decisions, we must recognize the growing interdependence of the people of the free world. Economic cooperation among the nations of the free world is essential to advance the welfare of humanity and to meet successfully the growing challenge of Soviet imperialism.

"The role our Nation will play in economic development of the free world will be determined in large measure during the present session of Congress when Congress considers two major issues—extension of the reciprocal-trade program and additional authorization for foreign economic aid."

How serious is the Soviet economic threat? Let the Communists themselves answer this question.

Speaking to a Moscow conference in 1952, the late Stalin declared:

"We can win the world peaceably. It will eventually turn upon West Germany and Japan. But the stupid, greedy West will hamper their foreign trade. Then we shall draw them into our orbit through overwhelming trade agreements."

Only last year Stalin's successor, Khrushchev, said even more frankly:

"We declare war upon you—excuse me for using such an expression—in the peaceful field of trade."

And this year a new Soviet-West German trade agreement is announced which pro-

vides for doubling trade between the two countries this year, with the Soviet Union shipping greatly increased quantities of oil, coal, cotton, and other similar goods to West Germany.

The nations of the free world wait to see whether Congress will renew our modest reciprocal-trade program. But they will not wait much longer. The Communists are shrewd negotiators. And they are making progress in the field of aid as well as trade.

The Communists are fairly recent participants in the field of economic assistance. But they have already reaped a rich harvest of propaganda success as well as closer political ties with a number of countries. Nations which for the first time see the possibility of economic growth will not sit idly by and watch their plans for essential projects wither on the vine. If the United States falls them, these countries will seek assistance wherever they can get it.

Increasingly, uncommitted nations are turning to the Soviet Union, which is apparently willing to provide underdeveloped nations with some help in the hope of drawing them into the Soviet political orbit. The State Department has recently estimated that in a period of less than 3 years the Soviet bloc has extended \$1.9 billion in long-term loans or grants to non-Soviet countries. Almost all of this amount is in economic assistance, only about one-fifth in military assistance.

If the Soviets perform on these commitments, the political cost to the free world may be catastrophic.

Let us remember, however, that in this case the Communists are reacting to what the free world did first and is still doing. A report from the United Nations shows that the free world, in the last 2-year period alone, has extended about \$5.5 billion in economic and technical aid to less privileged countries. Of this sum, the United States has contributed more than half. France, Britain, Australia, Canada, and the Netherlands have been among the other major donors.

The danger is that if we reduce or abandon our program now, the new Soviet help will take on particular significance.

The free world's desire to help less privileged nations is aimed, of course, at reducing the danger of Communist infiltration. But it is based primarily upon positive, humane considerations. We are sensitive to people's needs wherever they may be.

The bounty which nature has bestowed upon us cannot in good conscience be hoarded selfishly. In a world where billions go to sleep hungry every night how can we fail to make our food surpluses available? Moreover, there is an element of enlightened self-interest involved in the realization that in the final analysis we will continue to prosper as we make the whole world community prosperous.

Our entire foreign-aid program—including the bulk of it which is military assistance to our potential allies—costs the taxpayers only one quarter of what they spend each year for liquor and tobacco alone.

Instead of reducing the President's proposals for \$3.9 billion for the entire mutual security program next year, Congress would be well advised to step-up the sum substantially in the nonmilitary areas.

A number of studies have clearly demonstrated that the United States should make available at least \$2 billion yearly for economic development purposes—most of it in the form of long-term, low-interest loans.

But Congress has appropriated only \$300 million for this year and has authorized only \$625 million for next year for the important Development Loan Fund.

Compare this total of \$925 million for 2 years with the half a billion in applications made to the Fund in the first 8 months of its existence.

This means that many projects urgently needed to provide the spark for economic growth in the underdeveloped countries simply cannot be undertaken unless we make more funds available or these countries can obtain the funds they need elsewhere.

The sad fact, however, is that this Congress may not even be willing to appropriate the amount now authorized in the basic legislation.

While we urge Congress to make the most liberal appropriations possible for the mutual security program in its present form, we also urge that increased consideration should be given to possibilities for channeling economic aid and technical assistance through the United Nations and its specialized agencies. Broad, multilateral assistance will minimize the understandable resistance to a rich uncle role on the part of Uncle Sam and will also help spread the burden of economic aid to other countries to the extent of their capabilities.

No country wishes to depend on assistance. In the long run, the countries now being aided must be helped to stand on their own two feet. To do so, they must be permitted to earn rather than to be given our dollars. In other words, they should be permitted to trade with us.

It is a tragic fact that some European countries which we helped so much to restore to economic health after World War II through the Marshall plan now find it difficult, because of our trade policies, to trade with us at the levels needed for economic stability.

There is nothing charitable about a liberal trade policy. America gains as much from it as do the nations with which we trade. In the final analysis, it means higher productivity and higher standards of living for all peoples.

Through international trade we obtain vitally needed raw materials and some manufactured goods which we can't or don't produce. And we are able to retain foreign markets for billions of dollars worth of products from our factories and farms.

We cannot afford ever to forget this very simple fact of economic life: international trade must be a two-way street. People all over the world want from us a wide variety of foods and goods. But they cannot buy from us unless they are able to sell to us. How else will they get the dollars?

Because we mistakenly thought years ago that foreign imports were causing our domestic economic difficulties, we set up terrifically high tariff barriers. In 1934 we realized how wrong we had been and have been working to undo the damage ever since. But progress has been slow and uncertain—with backward steps being taken every now and then.

The danger of new backward steps in 1958 is very serious. The current economic recession is being used as an excuse to cripple the program. With more than 5 million Americans out of work, the protectionists are declaiming that "this is certainly no time to increase imports and put still more people out of work," etc.

This is dangerous nonsense. If we want to worsen the recession, we should scuttle the reciprocal trade program and raise tariffs again.

What the protectionists forget is that there are 4,500,000 American workers whose jobs depend upon international trade. These are the men and women who manufacture the automobiles, machine tools and thousands of other American products that are sold all over the globe, the million farm workers who grow the foods we send abroad, the Americans who transport and distribute goods in international traffic, and the almost million workers who process materials which we import from abroad.

Shall we be indifferent to the job security of these 4,500,000 American workers?

The fact is that in 1934 the reciprocal trade program was adopted as an antidepression measure. And it did serve to find more customers for our surplus farm and industrial production. And in every recession since then, foreign purchases of American goods held up better than did domestic demand. It is true today.

Of course, we do have a serious recession. Appropriate action must be taken. But cutting trade is not the thing to do. The AFL-CIO and its affiliates are vigorously pushing a real antirecession program, including improved unemployment compensation, tax reductions, public works, school construction, extension of minimum wages, and similar measures.

Moreover, recession or not, the AFL-CIO has been advocating an addition to the reciprocal trade program which is aimed at helping workers who may, in fact, be hurt by any reduction in tariffs and increase in imports.

Based upon a recommendation of President David McDonald, of the steelworkers when he served on the Randall Commission in 1954, a trade-adjustment program has been developed which is aimed at providing some direct assistance to workers, industries, and communities that can demonstrate their difficulties are, in fact, the result of foreign imports.

This can and does happen occasionally, and it is unfair to expect a small segment of our economy to pay the price of a national trade policy. AFL-CIO economists have estimated that a trade-adjustment program would cost no more than \$2 million a year.

The recession argument is also being used against the mutual security program.

"At a time when our own people are suffering," the argument is offered, "why spend billions to help other people?"

This argument is usually made by people whose record in support of social welfare measures is not very good. Here again it is conveniently forgotten by these propagandists that our mutual security program provides jobs to more than 600,000 Americans because about 80 cents of every dollar in the program is spent for American goods.

A cut in mutual security appropriations at this time, in addition to inviting serious risks in our international objectives, would only aggravate our economic difficulties at home.

Within the next 2 months Congress will complete action on these 2 vital programs. Opponents are active. The protectionist lobby is well organized and well financed. The isolationist crowd never lets up.

It isn't enough that the President, the leaders of both parties, and most national leaders in every walk of life support both the mutual security program and the reciprocal trade program. Especially in this election year, Congressmen are interested in what they think their constituents wish. AFL-CIO members must not let the anti's do all the talking and writing.

Economic self-interest and international obligations both combine to make the case for a liberal foreign economic policy today stronger than ever.

#### VALUE OF INCREASED APPROPRIATION FOR THE SCHOOL-LUNCH PROGRAM

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, if anyone had any doubt as to the value of the action the Senate took to increase the school-lunch appropriation provided by House bill 11767 to the total of \$125 million, it should not be difficult to convince him by an examination of two let-

ters which I have recently received from educational leaders in the State of Minnesota.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD a letter from Mr. A. R. Taylor, director of the community school-lunch section of the Department of Education of the State of Minnesota; and a letter from Superintendent Robert Prickett, of Independent School District No. 440, Middle River, Minn.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE OF MINNESOTA,  
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION,  
St. Paul, Minn., April 28, 1958.

Hon. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,  
United States Senate,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR HUMPHREY: Your keeping me informed regarding the status of the school-lunch appropriation outlined in H. R. 11767, putting it mildly, is very, very much appreciated. This information will be passed on to all of our Minnesota schools.

Your initiating the increased appropriation warrants a warm thank you in behalf of the 265,000 Minnesota youngsters participating daily in this program so vital to their physical and mental well-being.

More and more with the acceptance of the school-lunch program as part and parcel of our overall educational program is the growing acceptance of the program's impact on our agricultural economy.

Again expressing my personal appreciation and assuring you that it will continue to be a pleasure to give you information at any time, I am,

Sincerely yours,

A. R. TAYLOR,  
Director, Community School Lunch  
Section.

MIDDLE RIVER COMMUNITY SCHOOL,  
INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 440,  
Middle River, Minn., April 29, 1958.

SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR HUMPHREY: Thank you very much for your letter of April 23, in which you inform us of the Senate passed bill to provide \$125 million for the school lunch program.

As you know, we are now reduced to 5 cents from Federal and State funds per lunch. (This particular school is now receiving 10 cents per lunch because we are in the disaster area but this terminates at the close of the current school year. The 5-cent figure is correct for practically all of the schools in the State.) At this rate one has to charge 15 cents to 20 cents per lunch in addition. At 20 cents per child per lunch a family with three children in school pays \$12 per month. Although this is a very cheap lunch in an area of continuous farm depression, and now the general depression, this represents a good deal of cash. Many cannot afford to participate—these are the ones who need it most, of course.

So I thank you very much for your efforts, and if it becomes possible to raise this figure at some future date the children of our State will benefit greatly thereby. In view of some surpluses combined with the present severe depression it would seem that this would be one good way to attack the problem, and at the same time build the health of our Nation.

Sincerely,

ROBERT PRICKETT.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, in appropriating \$125 million, an increase of 25 percent over the President's budget request for the school-lunch program, we have merely kept pace approximately with the expanding school population. I consider this investment of an extra \$25 million one of the finest acts taken by the Congress during this session.

Senators and Members of the House can take great pride in their joint effort to provide a greater measure of good health and well-being for our children.

Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

#### A TRIBUTE TO MINNESOTA'S 100 YEARS OF PROGRESS

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, in April 1945, delegates from 50 nations gathered at San Francisco to found the United Nations. In arranging for their transportation across America, it was decided that they should take a variety of routes, in order that each representative might get a distinct and individual view of the various showplaces of our Nation. They saw our skyscrapers, our superhighways, our great canyons, our vast plains, and our mighty mountains. But to most of them, we are told, the most impressive sight of all was the rich heartland of the Middle West—acres upon acres of fertility, comprising an area of food and abundance unparalleled anywhere else in the world.

This week, Minnesota is celebrating its centennial, marking its first century as one of the States of the United States. We are doing it in a big way, because that is the way we do things in our State. Once more, we are going to have a number of very distinguished guests from some 20 foreign countries. Tomorrow, May 8, the Scandinavian delegation will be met in New York by Governor and Mrs. Freeman; Senator and Mrs. Thye; Mrs. Humphrey and myself; Mrs. Eugenie Anderson—Minnesota's contribution to American diplomacy, when she served as this country's ambassador to Denmark; Centennial Chairman and Mrs. Popovich, and other notables; and will leave Idlewild Airport for the trip to Minnesota.

Mr. President, the official order of precedence list released by the Minnesota Centennial Commission authorities gives an idea of the number and distinction of the honored guests who will be with us on that occasion. I ask unanimous consent that the list be printed at this point in the RECORD, in connection with my remarks.

There being no objection, the list was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LIST OF PRECEDENCE, CENTENNIAL INTERNATIONAL GUESTS, MINNESOTA CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION, MAY 8-11, 1958

Her Royal Highness Princess Astrid of Norway.

His Royal Highness Prince Bertil of Sweden.

Their Excellencies Prime Minister of Norway and Mrs. Einar Gerhardsen.



Their Excellencies Prime and Foreign Minister of Denmark and Mrs. H. C. Hansen.

Their Excellencies Prime Minister of Finland and Mrs. Reino Kuuskoski.

His Excellency Ambassador of Denmark Henrik de Kauffmann.

Their Excellencies Ambassador of Sweden and Mrs. Erik Boheman.

Their Excellencies Ambassador of Yugoslavia and Mrs. Leo Mates.

Their Excellencies Ambassador of Greece and Mrs. George V. Melas.

Their Excellencies Ambassador of Finland and Mrs. Johan Nykopp.

Their Excellencies Ambassador of Iceland and Mrs. Thor Thors.

His Excellency Ambassador of Germany Wilhelm Grewe.

His Excellency Ambassador of Norway Paul Koht.

The Honorable Minister of Rumania and Mrs. Silviu Brucan.

The Honorable Minister of India and Mrs. H. Dayal.

The Honorable Odd Gronvold, the Lord Steward of Norway.

Mme. Ellnor Gronvold, Lady-in-Waiting to Princess Astrid of Norway.

Mr. J. Kajeckas, Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Lithuania.

Mr. Tor Myklebost, head of the press section of the Norwegian Foreign Office.

Consul General of Norway and Mrs. Thorgeir Tobias Sigveland.

Consul General of Canada and Mrs. Gerald Anderson Newman.

Consul General of China Mr. Ta-tseng Ling.

Consul General of France Mr. Jean Bellard.

Consul General of Israel and Mrs. David S. Teshar.

Consul General of Italy and Mrs. Giacomo Proffli.

Acting Consul General of the Netherlands and Mrs. W. H. Lambooy.

Capt. Ove Borlind, aide-de-camp to Prince Bertil of Sweden.

Dr. Anatol Dinbergs, counselor of Latvian Legation.

Counselor of the Swedish Embassy and Mrs. Kjell Oberg.

Press and Cultural Counsel of the Norwegian Embassy and Mrs. Frederik S. Wulfsberg.

Counsel of the British Embassy and Mrs. L. C. Glass.

Mr. Toshiro Shimanouchi, counselor of the Japanese Embassy.

Mr. Sean Ronan, consul of Ireland.

Mr. Enrique Suarez de Puga y Villegas, consul of Spain.

Consul of Sweden and Mrs. Gosta Ludvig Sebastian af Petersens.

Mr. Hassib El Abdullah, First Secretary of the Lebanese Embassy.

Mr. Erik Krog-Meyer, Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark.

Press Secretary of the Finnish Embassy and Mrs. Max Jakobson.

Press Attaché of Denmark and Mrs. Kai Johansen.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I read now from an editorial entitled "The Widening Borders of Minnesota," which was published on May 4, 1958, in the Minneapolis Sunday Tribune:

It is good to welcome royalty and official representatives from a number of (our) ancestral lands this week, for they represent the interrelationship of all men. Next Sunday, the anniversary day of statehood, John Foster Dulles will add further emphasis to that concept when he flies from Paris to the rededication ceremony at the University of Minnesota stadium.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed at this point in the RECORD, in connection with my remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### THE WIDENING BORDERS OF MINNESOTA

Statehood Week—the climax, though by no means the end, of Minnesota's centennial celebration—is under way. So numerous and important are the events that the week covers 10 days. Before it is over the Twin Cities area, where this part of the observance centers, will have experienced more official dinners and recognition ceremonies and commemorative speeches than have been crowded into a like period in Minnesota history.

A hundred years ago there wasn't much celebrating. A Congress divided on the slavery issue had kept Minnesota waiting for months for actual statehood. A constitution had been framed and accepted the previous year, a legislature and Congressmen and other State officials elected. The legislature had selected two Democrats to represent the new State in the United States Senate.

The Minnesota constitution was delivered to the President and Congress early in January of 1858 and Minnesotans expected prompt admission to the Union. But southerners kept Minnesota out until Kansas, with its proslavery constitution, could be admitted first. Minnesota's constitution, a hasty merger of two documents written by opposing political factions, was irregular enough. Kansas' Lecompton constitution had been drawn by a rump convention elected by proslavery votes alone.

The Senate passed the Minnesota statehood bill on April 7. The House put it over until May 4, the day the Kansas bill became law. But a lot of acrimony waited to get into the debate and the final House vote, which went 157 to 38, didn't come until May 11. And word didn't reach Minnesota, by telegram forwarded from Prairie du Chien, Wis., until May 13. Then Minnesotans quietly took up the duties of statehood.

That's pretty much what they have been doing ever since. But now they are ready to look back over the way they have come, to boast a little and to have some friends in for rejoicing.

Except for the relatively few Indians who remain, the Minnesotans came from many countries. It is good to welcome royalty and official representatives from a number of these ancestral lands this week, for they emphasize the interrelationship of all men. Next Sunday, the anniversary day of statehood, John Foster Dulles will add further emphasis to that concept when he flies from Paris to the rededication ceremony at the University of Minnesota stadium.

Minnesota narrowed its borders when it changed from a Territory to a State in 1858. But in a figurative sense it has been widening them since then. Its partnership in the Union was hard won. Now it joins in ever-growing measure in partnership with all the world.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the people of Minnesota will welcome these illustrious guests with the same warmth and hospitality with which they traditionally have welcomed guests. They will have the opportunity of visiting our industrial establishments and our countryside, in this heartland of America.

#### MINNESOTA RESOURCES

The story of Minnesota's first 100 years is the story of the development of the resources of this great heartland. It is a story of mankind's progress, set against the vast and wonderful works of nature. No other place on earth, perhaps, owes more to the gifts of nature

than does Minnesota: For eons before Minnesota became a State, nature was at work preparing this stage setting for civilized man who was to make his first appearance 300 short years ago—first, as the fur trapper; then, the lumberjack, the farmer of the fertile fields, the miner, the dairyman, and, finally, the worker in today's diversified industries.

During that dim and misty period, before there was any life on this planet, uneven bulges of barren granite were covered with great volcanic lava flows, which later were mingled with the invading waters of the seas to lay the deposits of our rich iron ore. As the earth's crust cooled and shrank, great bulges and thrusts set up a mountain range reaching from southwestern Minnesota northeast into Canada, and left the dip destined to be the bed of Lake Superior.

Nature worked on patiently, disintegrating rocks into rich soil. Then, from out of Canada, came the ice—four times—covering all of Minnesota except its small southeast triangle. It moved down the valleys, scouring rock ridges, polishing knolls, shoving boulders. It unloaded tons of earth, and dug out our 10,000 lakes. Then, when the ice melted at the northern Red River exit, huge Lake Agassiz, which had occupied the northwestern part of the State, drained southward, through the bed in which the Minnesota River now flows—the river that gave our State its name.

It is hard for the visitor to Minnesota to believe that within less than a century, 54 million acres of forests, lakes, rivers, and untouched prairies have been converted into an organized area of industrial cities and rich farms, of great docks and great schools, of art centers and parks.

This is an area into which Belgium, Denmark, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Liechtenstein, and 12,000 square miles of northern France could be placed.

It is a land whose place names tell the story of our history, of our love of the land and the water, and of the peoples of many countries who have come there to live together and work together. Our love of the land speaks out in the names of communities such as Blue Earth, Belle Plaine, Garden City, Goodland, Long Prairie, La Prairie, Sandstone, and White Earth.

Our pride in our waters is revealed in the names of hundreds of other communities, such as Buffalo Lake, Mission Creek, Granite Falls, Reads Landing, Two Harbors, Stillwater, and Pelican Rapids.

And the people who have come to us from many lands brought to Minnesota such Old World names for our cities and towns as Caledonia, Cologne, Danube, Milan, London, Montevideo, Santiago, New Brighton, New London, New Munich, New Prague, and New Ulm.

The Sioux, the Chippewa, and the Cree also gave us many of the beautiful names for our towns and our lakes—names like Minnetonka, Ojibway, Mesabi—meaning the giant range. They gave us the name of our State—Minnesota—meaning sky-tinted water, in the Sioux tongue.

## EARLY EXPLORERS

The first white men in Minnesota, Radisson and Groseilliers, French trappers from Canada, arrived almost exactly 300 years ago. In 1679 came the man for whom Duluth is named, Daniel Greysolon, Sieur du Lhut, to set up the standard of Louis XIV. About the same time, Father Hennepin, a Belgian priest, with two companions was sent by La Salle to make the first exploration of the upper Mississippi. Father Hennepin was the first to view the many scenic vistas of the upper Mississippi that lie within the borders of Minnesota, and was the first to write and publish a description of the country.

Then came more explorers determined to know and understand the physical world not yet mapped by man. Was it true, they asked, that the Mississippi led to China and Japan? Were there paths leading to the Great Khan of Cathay? In 1766 the French explorers were joined by Capt. Jonathan Carver, of Connecticut, the first British explorer to reach the State. After seeing Minnesota he wrote, 10 years before the American Revolution:

There is no doubt but that at some future period, mighty kingdoms will emerge from these wildernesses, and stately and solemn temples, with gilded spires reaching the sky, supplant the Indian huts.

And so they came—men whose names are as varied as the names in our telephone books today: Perrot, Le Sueur, Thompson, Pike, Cass, Nicolet, Taliaferro, Beltrami, Schoolcraft, and many others. During this period the flags of France, of England, of Spain, and of the United States flew over this region in whole or in part. Gradually the map took shape, and as Theodore C. Blegen, dean of the graduate school of the University of Minnesota, has said:

The curtain of mystery lifted: the kind of ignorance that caused our diplomats in 1783 to try to run a boundary west from Lake of the Woods to intersect the Mississippi was replaced by tested knowledge. . . . Cathay proved to be very far away, but men of will broke through the continent to the Pacific coast, and in doing so they found, and told the world about, an inland empire better than Cathay.

The American flag was first carried to Minnesota country by Lt. Zebulon Pike, sent by President Jefferson in 1805 to explore the Mississippi to its source. This young officer of the United States Army was only 26 years old at the time, and was later to win further fame as an explorer of the farther West, where the famous mountain peak in Colorado is named in his honor.

The first permanent American settlement in Minnesota was at Fort Snelling, at the point where the Minnesota River flows into the Mississippi. The fort was built by Col. Henry Leavenworth, who in the summer of 1819, led the 5th United States Infantry from Detroit to Minnesota to establish the United States authority and counteract the influence of the British fur traders upon the Indians.

Maj. Lawrence Taliaferro, the agent at Fort Snelling, taught the Indians to respect American authority, and succeeded

in winning their friendship so that they gave up their British flags.

The American period in the history of the Northwest fur trade had not arrived. Minnesota became a part of the fur empire of John Jacob Astor and the American Fur Co., which in 1834 sent a young man named Henry Hastings Sibley to manage its business there. Sibley was to play an important role in shaping the destiny of Minnesota, eventually becoming the first Governor of the North Star State.

It is interesting to note that Negroes also figured in the early history of this fur trade. Pierre Bonza and his son, George, played, an important part in operations around the turn of the 19th century. In 1804, Pierre became an interpreter for the Northwest Co. on the lower Red River, and in 1820 his son acted as an interpreter for Gov. Lewis Cass at Fond du Lac, later achieving wealth and prominence as an independent trader at Leech Lake.

Next came the era of the oxcart and the settler. First were the Swiss and Scots from the Selkirk colony, followed by the American pioneers from the East, heeding the call of the great opening frontier of the Midwest:

Come all ye Yankee farmers who wish to change your lot,  
Who've spunk enough to travel and change  
your native spot.

The opening of the land office at St. Croix Falls in 1848 brought the first great wave of newcomers—mostly lumbermen from Maine, farmers from the Mid-Atlantic States, tradesmen and craftsmen from the cities. The Americans were joined by new arrivals from other lands: France, Canada, England, Germany, Ireland, Norway, and Sweden. Something of the remoteness of these settlements is suggested by the fact that news of the national election of November 1848 did not reach St. Paul until January of the following year. Moreover, many necessities—even most of the fodder for their livestock—was brought from the outside by steamboat.

The spirit of the time is personified by the legendary logger, Paul Bunyan, of whom Carl Sandburg has written:

Who made Paul Bunyan, who gave him birth as a myth, who joked him into life as the master lumberjack, who fashioned him forth as an apparition easing the hours of men amid axes and trees, saws and lumber? The people, the bookless people, they made Paul and had him alive long before he got into the books for those who read. He grew up in shanties, around the hot stoves of winter, among socks and mittens drying, in the smell of tobacco smoke and the roar of laughter mocking the outside weather. And some of Paul came overseas in wooden bunks below decks in sailing vessels. And some of Paul is old as the hills, young as the alphabet.

Prior to its being established as a Territory in 1849, the lands now lying in Minnesota had, at one time or another, been under the jurisdiction of the colony of Virginia, the Northwest Territory, the Territories of Louisiana, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, Iowa, and Wisconsin. The great and rapid development of the Territory was attributed to the opening of the Indian lands to

settlement. The great seal of Minnesota, adopted when it became a Territory, tells the story of this era very succinctly. It shows an Indian mounted on his pony riding toward the setting sun. Behind him stands a settler at his plow.

The lands were acquired peaceably by treaty purchases from the Sioux in lower Minnesota and from the Chippewa in the north.

## POPULATION GROWTH

Once the Indian lands were acquired, Minnesota was ready for rapid growth. An editorial in a St. Paul newspaper of 1854 boasted:

Fence in a prairie fire. Dam up Niagara. Bail out Lake Superior. Tame a wolf. Civilize Indians. Attempt any practical thing; but not to set metes and bounds to the progress of St. Paul.

And how fast did Minnesota grow? The census figures tell the story. In 1850 there were 6,000 people there. In 10 more years there were more than 172,000. Most of the newcomers were native-born Americans—New Yorkers and New Englanders. But Minnesota was attracting people from other lands, too, and not indeliberately. In 1855 the Territory sent a commissioner of emigration to New York to persuade immigrants, as they got off the ships from Europe, to go to Minnesota. Pamphlets were written and sent to Europe to influence others to come and live in Minnesota. In 1850 there were only 12 Scandinavians and 147 Germans in Minnesota. Ten years later there were 12,000 Scandinavians and over 18,000 Germans.

The first Swede to arrive in Minneapolis was Nils Nyberg, who settled in St. Anthony in 1851, and was, for many years, referred to as "the foreigner." Something of the atmosphere of the times is revealed in the story which relates that one day, in the late 1850's, a yellow-haired, blue-eyed man wandered into the settlement. Tired and forlorn, he sat down on the street where Hennepin Avenue crosses Washington. Out from his blacksmith shop came Yankee John Wilson, but he could make nothing of the stranger's replies to his questions. He sent for Mousseau, the Frenchman, but the stranger stared dumbly when questioned in French. A German was sent for, but this, too, proved to be futile. John Broderick tried his Gaelic to no avail. A crowd gathered, but the strange young man was unable to understand any one of the languages common to the early Minnesota communities. At last, someone remembered the foreigner, Nyberg, and ran to fetch him. At the first Swedish words, the stranger smiled and leaped to his feet and, amid general rejoicing, the problem was solved.

The concern for a good education for all of its people, which still characterizes Minnesota today, is evident in its history as a Territory. In 1849, one of the first acts of the Territorial legislature was to adopt the McLeod education bill. In 1851, the legislature took steps toward establishing the State university, and a white 2-story frame building near Richard Chute Square was opened to 40 pupils by Elijah W. Merrill, a Methodist minister. In 1858, the year Minnesota became a State, the university moved to



its present site on the east bank of the Mississippi.

The rapid and successful development of Minnesota is revealed by the fact that it was a Territory for only 9 short years. The event we are celebrating this Sunday, the admission of Minnesota as one of the United States, took place on May 11, 1858.

#### FIRST YEARS OF STATEHOOD

The story of Minnesota as a wilderness, as a frontier, and as a Territory is an exciting one. No less so is its history as a State.

As an infant State it was concerned with war. It was the first to offer troops to fight for the Union in the Civil War. While engaged in this heroic effort, it found itself with a bloody Indian uprising within two borders. The Sioux, furious at the wrongs they had suffered, went on the warpath in 1862. The first outbreak occurred at the Redwood Indian Agency, and soon warfare swept through the fertile valley of the Minnesota for a range of 250 miles. These hostilities were ended when the Sioux were put to rout at Wood Lake by a band of volunteers led by Henry Sibley.

The period from the close of the Civil War to the end of the 19th century was for Minnesota—as indeed it was for the country as a whole—dominated by two major themes: industrial development and expansion of population.

The immigrant wave continued. The State's population increased tenfold, from 172,000 in 1860 to over 1,750,000 in 1900. The people continued to come from the East, from Germany, Norway, Sweden, Ireland, and the British Isles.

The State of Minnesota continued the policy it had adopted as a territory of seeking miners, craftsmen, and other skilled artisans from abroad. A board of immigration was established in 1867, which sent out literature, not only in English, but in German, Swedish, Norwegian, and Welsh. Once more, agents were sent to the eastern seaports, and even to Europe, to attract the people necessary to turn Minnesota's abundant gifts of nature into wealth. The spirit was expressed in a ballad:

We have room for all creation and our banner is unfurled,  
Here's a general invitation to the people of the world.

The State's earliest industry, fur trapping, had been surpassed by lumbering in the early 19th century. But by the time it was ready for statehood, Minnesota was predominantly agricultural. Wheat was king in the sixties and seventies, thanks to the McCormick reaper, the Homestead Act, and the rich Minnesota prairie soil. Meanwhile, in the little town of Dundas, the Archibald brothers were pioneering a new method of making flour, developed by a French family named Le Croix. Sifters, blowers, and an intricate system of silk sieves produced flour that brought envious millers from the entire Northwest to watch the rollers, feel the machinery, and experiment with the mysteries of Rice County wheat. When the younger Le Croix took the secret of Dundas flour to Minneapolis, that city soon became undisputed

world leader in the flour industry—a position it maintained for years.

Then the iron, which had lain in our great Mesabi, Vermilion, and Cuyuna Ranges for untold centuries, became the central force in the drama of Minnesota's industrial development. Into the mining areas labor agencies brought Slavs, Finns, Germans, Scandinavians, Latins, Greeks, English, and Celts. Praying and swearing took place in 20 different languages and dialects, but the very multiplicity of languages served as the flux which gradually made English the agreed-upon common medium of communication.

The Vermilion was the first to be discovered in the 1870's and 1880's. The Mesabi—the greatest range of iron ore in the United States—was not discovered, however, until 1890. This took place through the almost singular efforts of a heroic and courageous family, the Merritts, immortalized by the pen of Paul de Kruif as the Seven Iron Men. The last of these great giants, the Cuyuna, did not yield its hidden treasure until 1911.

At the same time that new industries were developing from the natural wealth of Minnesota they were nourishing and being nourished by another giant of the 19th century—the railroads. James J. Hill, the empire builder, was responsible for making the Twin Cities a great railroad center. Over his roads settlers went to the Red River Valley, the Dakotas, Montana, and the Pacific Northwest.

One incident in this railroad era may be of special interest. It seems that our city of Duluth first gained national attention in 1871 through a speech made in Congress by a Representative from Kentucky. As the story goes, in the closing days of the session, 2 railroad land-grant bills were up, and everyone knew that only 1 could be passed in the allotted time. The Kentucky Congressman somehow confused the railroads when he rose to defend his position. Frantically exaggerating the pretensions of poor little Duluth, he was so witty that the House rocked with laughter, and he continued to elaborate his theme until the time for the bill had all been consumed. It was only then he learned that the bill he had killed was the one he should have supported. The joke was on the Congressman, but Duluth could well laugh, too, for now its fame was spread throughout the country. The Congressman himself graciously admitted this at a banquet in 1890 when he said:

Possibly the mention of the name "Duluth" may bring my own into recollection of millions long after I shall have moldered into dust, and everything else pertaining to my existence faded from the memory of man.

#### TWENTIETH CENTURY MINNESOTA

The growth of Minnesota in the 20th century is illustrative of the dynamic nature of the American economy. While remaining one of the leading agricultural States, Minnesota has developed diversified industries which provide 200,000 jobs that pay over \$1 billion in wages. The number of farms has

decreased somewhat in recent years, but individual units have increased in size and productivity. Our leading industry is food processing, in which we rank second in the Nation and first in the production of butter. Our second most important industry is machinery manufacturing, then paper and pulp, printing and publishing; followed by chemical products, ordnance, metal fabrication, transportation, and lumber and wood products.

Our future in Minnesota is largely dependent on how we use the resources that nature has bestowed upon us. Although much of the high-grade ore has been mined from the Mesabi, it is estimated that our taconite reserves will meet the Nation's requirements for iron ore for 150 years or more. The full utilization of these resources will require imagination and the investment of considerable capital. The new processing plant at Silver Bay is an example of the type of expensive installation necessary to extract iron particles from this stone harder than granite.

Our greatest resource, however, is our people—intelligent, alert, educated, and highly skilled. Their physical and mental abilities are the result of progressive programs in the fields of education and health. Minnesota ranks among the highest States in its expenditures for its public schools. Its health facilities, most notably the Mayo Clinic, have served as models for the world.

#### A LITTLE UNITED NATIONS

The people of Minnesota are proud of the story of their past and of their present, and are confident of their future. They are proud that it is a composite story which draws on the strength and skills of the Old World as well as of the New. They rejoice because in their work and in their schools and in their playing fields men and women of all the nations who have helped to build the State have come to know each other, and, finally, to trust each other.

In our lives together we have come to understand the profound meaning of those beautiful lines written by Stephen Vincent Benét:

American muse, whose strong and diverse heart

So many men have tried to understand  
But only made it smaller with their art  
Because you are as various as your land.

I think that I have seen you, not as one,  
But clad in diverse semblances and powers,  
Always the same, as light falls from the sun,  
And always different, as the differing hours.

We, in Minnesota, have had the privilege of living next door to the people of many lands—the French, the Scots, the Welsh, and the Englishmen; the sons and daughters of Germany and of Czechoslovakia; families from Poland and Russia; families of Slavic, Serbian, Croatian and Rumanian origin—yes, the people of the Ukraine, of Hungary, and Austria, and the Baltic States.

Our State family includes families from Portugal, from Ireland, and from Italy. We are rich in the traditions of the Dutch and the Danes, the Swedes and the Swiss, the Norwegians, the Finns,

the Belgians, the Greeks, the Japanese, the Chinese, and of Canada, our neighbor to the north, and Mexico, our neighbor to the south. We like to think of ourselves as a living example of what the United Nations can become, because we know from our own experience that men of all nations can work together for the common good.

Because of our own experience, then, these words from the preamble of the United Nations Charter have a special meaning for us:

We the peoples of the United Nations—  
Determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind; and

To reaffirm our faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal right of men and women and of nations large and small; and

To establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained; and

To promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, and for these ends; and

To practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another, as good neighbors.

The spirit of the people of Minnesota draws not only upon the wealth of her various native stocks, but also upon the pioneer tradition which is convinced that nothing is impossible. We treasure such stories as one which is part of the history of Duluth—the city of promontories. Its famous harbor is cut off from the open lake by two narrow sandbars to form a perfect landlocked basin and channel. Back in 1871, they tell us, Duluth decided to dig an artificial entry to the lake through Minnesota Point, one of the sandbars, which extends some 6½ miles into Lake Superior. With such an outlet, its fishing boats could get out to the lake directly without having to travel the 7-mile stretch to the only natural entry near the Wisconsin shore.

Work had been started, with one steam shovel, when the city of Superior, across the bay, appealed to Washington to stop the operation. On a Friday in April came word that an Army engineer was on his way with the injunction. That night all Duluth shoveled and spaded. Saturday and Sunday they worked without pause. On Monday morning, the injunction arrived, but the canal had been dug, and the little tug, *Fero*, was steaming through, its whistle shrieking defiance.

Then there is the story of Winona, where lumbering and wheat shipping were closely tied in with the steamboat. When Winona's vital steamboat traffic was threatened in 1857 because the unruly Mississippi tried to plow a new main channel, drastic action was necessary. Steamboats, with officers none too friendly to the growing settlement founded by a rival captain, began to follow the new course of the river. But the village grimly met the emergency. In a carefully concocted scheme, the county officials went through the motions of voting to erect an elaborate stone courthouse, awarding the contract

to one of their own people who started to get out the necessary stone from the Wisconsin bluffs. The first load, piled on a huge barge, met with an "unfortunate accident" at the entrance to the new channel. The barge was wrecked, its load of stone permanently blocked the new course of the river, and steamboats again swung into the Winona landings.

I rejoice in the fact that Minnesota is not a "melting pot", if the implication of the words "melting pot" means that the identity of the individual or of the nationality is submerged so that everyone comes out alike. Our challenge is to fuse diversities without destroying them—to create a sort of unity within diversity. It is based on the principle that every person needs the experience of belonging. A collection of individuals becomes a group only on the basis of shared experience. The beginning can be as simple as the sharing of food—a bowl of borscht for a Danish apple cake, Mexican tamales for Scotch scones, Armenian shishkebabs for the Kolace of Czechoslovakia, Swedish meatballs for genuine Italian spaghetti with meatballs, Hungarian cabbage soup for Chinese sweet and sour pork, German sauerbraten for the grape leaf balls of our Greek friends, Japanese suki-yaki for our native wild duck with rice. How abundantly our meals have been enriched by these "new flavors," which are now coming to be so commonly accepted that they are appearing in packaged form in our frozen food counters.

We have come to know each other in our cooperatives. It is to the Iron Range and its people of Finnish extraction that Minnesota owes its first object lesson in modern consumer cooperative procedure. Finns and Danes came to the State already schooled in the methods of cooperatives and convinced of the necessity for united effort. When, in 1917, the struggles of the small, independent Finnish storekeepers in the Iron Range and Duluth area became unendurable, delegates from 15 associations met together to start their first wholesale pool. Farmers of all nationalities in isolated rural associations, both producer and consumer, had realized the necessity of unification and legal protection because of the great disparity between the price of the crops they sold and the cost of the goods they bought.

#### FESTIVAL OF NATIONS

Our city of St. Paul is famous for the Festival of Nations, a feature of this year's centennial celebration, which had its small beginnings back in the depression days of 1932. At a time when thousands of people were out of work and, too often, I am afraid, the immigrant was resented, a group of St. Paul citizens, under the sponsorship of the YWCA's International Institute, came to realize the bigotry of the notion that there is a single pattern for Americanism to which immigrants from every country should somehow conform. They realized that Americanization is not merely a matter of learning certain precepts in an Americanization class, but a matter of living—free, healthy, happy living, secure not only in matters of food and

shelter and clothing, but also in the knowledge of acceptance on equal terms in one's community. Year after year the festival has grown into one of St. Paul's cherished institutions.

But let us not imagine that this harmony of nationalities came automatically from the pure air we breathe in Minnesota. It has grown out of periods of struggle and misunderstanding—as all of our best human institutions have grown. In her wonderful book, *Around the World in St. Paul*, Alice L. Sickels has given the very human story of the headaches and heartaches which went on behind the scenes of the folk festivals. Having survived a depression, the 57-member committee for the festival held its January planning meeting in 1941 in a country at war. Mindful of the unfriendly demonstrations during and following World War I, the German, the Italian, and the Russian representatives were hesitant about participating. They wanted to participate but they said, "One or two might start something—then you will have a mob." "But," said a Czech, "not to have the Italians in the festival would be like Christmas at home with important members of the family missing." The Polish chairman said, "We're not merely projecting our wishful thinking, trying to prove that people of all nationalities can live together in peace; we're dramatizing the fact that they do live together happily in America and right here in our own city." Still the Italians hesitated until a high school lad of Italian parentage appeared one day with the statement, "Heck, I've danced in two festivals. All the kids in our dance group are Americans. Italian Americans, sure, but what of it? Everybody's something American, aren't they? What if they do boo us? They booed Mrs. Roosevelt, didn't they? Willkie got some rotten tomatoes. I guess we're no better than they are."

In the end, the Italian group was the largest one in the whole festival and they received a tremendous ovation. The idea behind the festival has always been that cultural heritage from the past, when disassociated from any current loyalty, is an asset instead of a cause for embarrassment. Commenting on its splendid results of one woman, who had been vehemently opposed to continuing the affair after Pearl Harbor, said:

I was so completely wrong. \* \* \* It was the most dramatic thing in my life. I don't think you know what the festival means to us old-stock Americans who just take this country for granted. We get more out of it than anyone else. To go ahead in wartime and include all those people whose mother countries were at war with us was a real test of democracy—especially when no one had anything to gain and everyone risked failure. It did something to me and to all the people of my committee.

#### SYMBOL OF BROTHERHOOD

As a member of the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee, I have long been concerned with finding better ways to insure the means of disarmament and of peace for which the people of our Nation—and all nations—so desperately long. And many times, as I sit at con-



ference tables where our problems with foreign nations are being discussed, I think on Minnesota's experiences and I take hope. If we are to achieve the kind of peace which we all so fervently seek, I believe we must understand that it, too, will not be an automatic or overnight process. For our story in Minnesota is one which demonstrates that peoples of all backgrounds can have their differences, but they can solve their problems, with patience, and firmness, and with the will to try to work together.

We speak often of the goal we share of seeking the brotherhood of man. It will take time. For what do we mean by brotherhood? I think it is well to be frank about it and admit that the word "brother" in the average family is no guaranty of unanimity, as most of us could testify. Indeed, in a healthy family situation, brothers have arguments—and often in their younger years, they come to blows—as the individual personalities develop. It grows—slowly and sometimes painfully—to the kind of self-respect which recognizes the rights of other individuals.

Mr. President, I give you the men and women and the children of Minnesota, for theirs is a proud heritage. They have learned in their daily lives that America is an idea which is being worked out in this country by the carriers of historic civilizations who have gathered here from every corner of the world. Democracy is the end toward which we aim and the process by which we move forward. Abundance has always been a very real part of the American dream. We know that there can be enough for everyone, and that, in a world with this potential, peace becomes possible and men and nations can progress by cooperation as well as by friendly competition. I give you the men and women of willingness and of will, who built the great State of Minnesota. They represent the people of the great and very human past, and of the great and very human American future.

Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

### ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the Wall Street Journal in recent days has been interviewing housewives, young married couples, retired people, farmers, executives and factory workers throughout the country in an effort to determine what is holding down consumer spending.

Here is what the Journal discovered:

A little more spending money and a lot more price reductions would spur consumer spending more than all the earnest campaigning by industry and Government to get Americans to buy now.

In this survey it was found that there was still a desire on the part of most everyone interviewed to buy one or more major items, but—

Only a few of those interviewed were actually planning to purchase goods now or in the next couple of months. Most commonly given reasons: too high prices, lack of ready cash, and an unwillingness, despite the many buy-now drives, to dip into savings or go

into debt—even if this spending might have some beneficial effect on the Nation's economy.

As I have stated on numerous occasions, it is my firm opinion that we must give a boost to consumer purchasing power in order to halt this serious and continuing recession. This calls for a tax cut to put more money into the pockets of consumers—especially the lower and middle-income families who make up the great proportion of the population.

As the Wall Street Journal points out, people are not only short on cash, but they are fed up with the high prices on so many goods and services. This is a most amazing recession—while business drops and drops we still witness the cost-of-living rising steadily. This would seem to defy every law of economics in the land.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the article from the May 6 Wall Street Journal be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONTRARY CONSUMERS—BUY NOW DRIVES DON'T INFLUENCE THEM THOUGH THEIR DESIRES ARE MANY—THEY TALK OF HIGH PRICES, LACK OF CASH—UNCERTAINTY LEADS MANY TO SHUN DEBT—IT'S A GOOD TIME TO SAVE

A little more spending money and a lot more price reductions would spur consumer spending more than all the earnest campaigning by industry and Government to get Americans to buy now.

Who says so? Consumers, who have got their eyes on all kinds of goods, from autos and hi-fi sets to homes and new summer suits.

In the past few days, Wall Street Journal reporters talked with housewives, young married folks, retired people, farmers, corporate executives, and factory workers in widely scattered parts of the country. They found almost all had a hankering to buy one or more major items; there was little evidence consumer buying desires had been saturated by the postwar spending spurge, a theory advanced by some economists to explain the recession.

But only a few of those interviewed were actually planning to purchase goods now or in the next couple of months. Most commonly given reasons: Too high prices, lack of ready cash, and an unwillingness, despite the many buy-now drives, to dip into savings or go into debt—even if this spending might have some beneficial effect on the Nation's economy.

### WE'RE POSTPONING

"Personally," says Leslie Blebl, tall, sandy-haired program director of radio station WHK in Cleveland, "I feel one of the big causes of our economic trouble right now is that people have been pushed into buying what they're not financially ready for." Mr. Blebl says his family wants to buy a hi-fi set but "we're postponing it until we feel we can handle it without going into debt or our savings, possibly later this year."

A Dallas utility employee says he's holding off buying a dining room suite which he had tentatively planned to purchase this month. Now, he figures, it probably will be July or August before he buys it. "We just don't have the money," he explains.

Mrs. Mary Mahoney, a matron for the Hudson & Manhattan Railroad in New York City, tells a reporter she wants to buy a new refrigerator and more furniture "but I need some more money for a down payment so I won't go too heavily into debt."

"I need a car badly but I don't have the money to buy one," remarks John Wildt, a Miami auto mechanic. David Rose, a barber in the same city says he and his wife have put off buying costlier items. "I depend heavily on tips," he observes, "and they just haven't been there the past year or so."

Mrs. Irene Goodman, a San Francisco secretary, says she and her husband were talking earlier this year about buying a new car and maybe making some home repairs. "Now," she says, "we've decided it's a good time to save. Prices on everything are just too high and too unsettled."

### TAX CUTS? PUBLIC WORKS?

These comments are fairly representative of the reactions of some 300 consumers picked at random and asked about their spending plans. Their views might be well worth noting, for many economic trend watchers say the American consumer and his spending habits will determine in large measure how long the recession continues and how severe it becomes. Just last week, the presidents of the 12 Federal Reserve banks told the Senate Finance Committee prompt tax cuts and more public-works outlays would be indicated if consumer spending is substantially curtailed.

Spending on personal consumption in the first quarter of this year was running at an annual rate of about \$281 billion, estimates the President's Council of Economic Advisers. This would be up from a rate of \$276.7 billion in the initial quarter of 1957 but down from the record \$283.6 billion pace in the third quarter of last year and the \$282.4 billion rate in the fourth quarter. Economists point out that figures for this year's first quarter are buoyed up by price increases and that notable changes have occurred in the pattern of spending, characterized mainly by an increase in spending on services and declines in outlays for the durable goods—autos, appliances, and such.

Many individuals' earnings have been cut, of course, through layoffs, reductions in overtime, and loss of sales commissions or bonuses.

In many other cases where consumers are cutting their spending, however, it's not because they lack ready cash. Americans, since the first of the year, have been stashing away savings at a swifter rate than a year ago. Savings in mutual savings banks, for example, rose \$719 million, or 2.2 percent, in the first quarter, compared with a 1.4-percent rise a year earlier.

Prices clearly are deterring many folks from buying what they say they want. Most hope they'll get better deals later on, so they're holding off buying now.

### "ONLY FROM NECESSITY"

Take John Wills, a young Gulf Oil Corp. engineer in St. Louis who's getting married in August. He's in the market for a complete set of household goods and appliances "but I'm not going to buy at present prices unless I'm forced to. I'll buy only from necessity."

A high-ranking Federal official in Connecticut declares: "I've put off buying a new car because they're overpriced."

John Schwaig, a 38-year-old sales engineer from a manufacturers' representative in Cleveland, says he's putting off buying a house and a second car. "I think Detroit is going to have to lower its prices this summer," says Mr. Schwaig, "and I think home prices also will come down within 6 months."

"We're hoping that prices will drop so we can buy some furniture," states a St. Louis housewife, Mrs. Teresa Lenharth. "We're also considering making porch repairs on our home. If cars were cheaper," she says, "we might consider buying a different one." Her present model: a 1950 Dodge. "People do without a lot of things because prices are too high," she muses.

One proposed route to lower prices, of course, is removal or reduction of Federal

excise taxes on cars, among other things. Though sentiment for tax cuts to cope with the recession has diminished in Washington, reductions still haven't been written off. Legislative talk of tax cuts very frequently includes reductions in excise, as well as personal, levies.

#### "BUY" BOOMERANG

President Eisenhower's call on consumers to buy, and the spurge of industry and community efforts to induce greater consumer spending fall to move, or impress, many potential buyers.

"Eisenhower's plan is good," allows Ralph Wagner, an Erie, Pa., salesman, "if he would just tell us where we get the money."

Frank Allebaugh, advertising account executive in Denver, puts it this way: "When the President says 'buy now,' it frankly scares the hell out of me. Ordinarily he isn't concerned whether I buy or not. When the President pleads for me to buy I immediately conclude that things are a lot worse than I thought they were."

Snaps Edith DeBlols, a Denver secretary: "I don't pay any attention to this 'buy now' stuff. Nobody tells me when to buy and when not to buy."

Observes Edgar E. Miller, a transplanted Tennessean who works as a Chicago bank guard: "If a man's agoin' to buy, he's agoin' to buy. And he doesn't need any campaign."

What irks a good many consumers is that there's much talk between retailers and manufacturers about price cutting—but seemingly few actual reductions.

#### ERSATZ SALES

Edward Stone, a civilian employee of the United States Navy's public works department in New York, says he's been shopping around for a washer and dryer and sometimes sees one on sale. But, he complains, "Some of these so-called sales aren't sales at all. They're nothing but attempts to make things look startling without really cutting prices. You can't believe what you read anymore," he avers. "You've got to do comparison shopping."

A Dallas oil company employee voices a similar complaint. He says he had hoped to buy a new car early this year but then decided against it when his wife became pregnant. After the various You Auto Buy Now campaigns started, he relates, "I went out to check the price of the car I was interested in. But I found the price hadn't changed any from the time I had asked earlier; so I concluded these car dealers aren't hurting bad."

Many consumers indicate they're in no mood to take on new installment purchases now because they're already carrying heavy debts.

A 33-year-old salesman of photographic and art supplies in Cleveland says he and his wife have put off buying about \$500 worth of furniture. "You know," he explains, "we owe more than \$2,000 on our car, appliance and other furniture. We even owe some of our relatives." He figures it may be more than a year before he gets back into the market again.

Joe Neiser, an advertising man in Chula Vista, Calif., says he's still paying off last year's purchases. But when the payments are finished, he adds, he expected to buy a car to replace the present 8-year-old model.

Myron Messler, a Kansas City clerk, bought a house 2 years ago and acquired other goods on credit. "It takes everything I make to keep up the payments," he says. "I'm not worried about my job, but I don't see much chance of a wage increase this year; so I'm not buying anything else until I whittle down my obligations."

Some folks, fresh out of debts, show no inclination to take the plunge soon again.

Miss Alice Spence, Denver secretary, says she "would like to spend about \$500 on a TV set, a hi-fi, and a new top for my MG car." But, she adds, "I guess I'll do without

them for a while. I like the feeling of having no monthly payments too well."

A beauty-shop operator in Bartlesville, Okla., tells a newsmen over a cup of coffee that she's putting off buying some new clothes, a washing machine, and other household items mainly, she says, "because I'm just about out of debt and I don't care to get back in again so deep."

Norman Friedman, a San Francisco radio repairman, says he doesn't expect to make any major purchases this year. "I just finished paying off my 1956 car and a living-room set," he notes. "What with all this talk of recession, it just makes me feel good to be free of debt. I think I'll enjoy it a while."

This attitude toward installment debt is reflected in the faster pace at which consumers are paying off their bills and their slowness in taking on new obligations. Installment credit outstanding dropped by \$180 million in March, for the second straight month of decline. At the same time, the amount of new installment credit extended, after seasonal adjustments, amounted to \$3,193,000,000, down from February's \$3,235,000,000, according to the Federal Reserve Board. Even so, total installment credit stood at a lofty \$33 billion at the end of March, up nearly \$1.5 billion from a year earlier.

In some cases, of course, consumers have slowed their spending because they're not working or their job status is tenuous.

#### LIVING-ROOM LETDOWN

"I had planned to buy a living-room set for my apartment," relates Miss Alberta Eason, a jobless 21-year-old Detroit girl, "but there's no use making two or three payments and then coming home one day and finding it gone."

R. E. Davidson, New York Central Railroad engineer, says in St. Louis he's been "kind of thinking" about making a larger family room in his house and buying a hi-fi. But, says Mr. Davidson, job uncertainty is restraining him. "If they drop any more passenger trains," he observes, "they might drop some engineers, too."

"We sure wanted to get a new washer and dryer this year," remarks Mrs. Patricia Black in Portland, Oreg., "but I got laid off as a telephone company operator and my husband is going to college. We'll just have to let it slide now until we get back on our feet."

In many instances, short workweeks or loss of a second job has compelled workers to throttle their spending.

Two Detroit policemen, for example, say they have job security but the recession has wiped out weekend jobs they formerly held. One had planned to add a garage to his home; the other wants to turn his attic into another room. But both say now they cannot afford the renovations on their regular salaries.

#### TRADING THE TV

An office clerk at Pittsburgh's Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp. recounts that he and his wife had planned to buy new living-room furniture this spring and trade in the old television set. Then the company put many of its salaried workers on a 4-day week. "You can't do that kind of spending on a 4-day week," he says ruefully.

Some people, nevertheless, insist the recession is having almost no effect on their spending plans; they say they're not buying simply because there's nothing they think they need now.

Fairly typical is the comment of Owen A. Knapp, Los Angeles insurance agent who has a wife and three youngsters. "We don't really need anything, and if we do buy anything big, it will probably be a case of some sales idea intriguing my wife and her needing me about it."

Mrs. D. S. Bay, St. Louis housewife, recalls she and her husband, who works for an aeronautical mapmaking service, spent about \$300 on carpeting and flooring last month

and says she hasn't felt any necessity to restrict her purchases because of high prices, or job and debt worries.

"But I hate to make that remark," adds Mrs. Bay, "because I said the same thing during the last depression, and about 2 or 3 weeks later we began to feel it."

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I also invite attention to a column of May 7 by Joseph Alsop in which he reports that the administration is gradually and reluctantly drifting into the position of having to sooner or later accept a major tax cut. Mr. Alsop notes that the pressure for a tax cut is steadily mounting, and that despite the rosy predictions being made from the White House even the President's economic advisers are deeply concerned over even a sharper economic downturn in the months ahead.

I ask unanimous consent that the column by Joseph Alsop be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### DRIFTING INTO IT

(By Joseph Alsop)

Reluctantly, unhappily, belatedly, the Eisenhower administration now seems likely to drift into acceptance of a major tax cut, almost for want of anything better to do.

The evidence for this forecast is largely circumstantial and atmospheric. But it is, nonetheless, rather convincing. Taking the items in order, there are the circumstances, first of all, that will make action to cut taxes decidedly difficult to avoid.

Some sort of tax bill must be offered this year, for the quite simple reason that some of the Korean-war-born taxes reach their automatic cutoff point on June 30. Unless legislative action is taken, the corporate profits tax will then drop from 52 to 47 percent; the automobile excise tax will be cut in half, and a whole series of other excises will also be reduced, including those on liquor and tobacco. A revenue loss of about \$3 billion will be the result.

As a practical matter, the Congress will never permit these important reliefs to business without offering at least equal tax cuts to the mass of voters. Thus, the Eisenhower administration's wait-and-see approach to the tax problem will cease to be feasible by about the end of this month.

Instead of continuing to say they are going to wait and see, the President and his advisers are going to have to say either "Cut taxes" or "Don't cut taxes."

In either case, a bill will have to go through Congress. And even if the decision is to maintain existing tax levels, certain reductions will be almost unavoidable. With the automobile industry still in bad trouble, for instance, there will be a tremendous drive to drop the auto excise tax. Again, the plight of the railroads is grave, and there will be another powerful drive to drop the present taxes on passenger tickets and freight charges, even though they do not expire this year.

These practical considerations are bound to influence the White House and Treasury. Then, too, while the administration is being pushed toward the decision, the atmosphere in which the decision will be taken is also worsening.

Superficially, the argument about the right remedies (or lack of remedies) for the depression is still going on in the same old way. The most determined and effective champions of the opposing viewpoints are still the two men who fought the big battle over Government economic policy in the 1953-54 recession. Neither is any longer officially connected with the Government.



Arthur Burns, former Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, charged into town again last week, to warn that the depression is not "flattening out" as the President keeps saying; and to plead for prompt action to stimulate the economy. He followed close on the heels of former Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey, who was peddling precisely the contrary opinions.

But Humphrey was no longer carrying conviction as he used to except with the President himself. Even Humphrey's successor at the Treasury, the able Robert Anderson, is talking nowadays much less about the fiscal dangers of a tax cut, and much more about the difficulties of getting Congress to vote the right kind of tax cut.

As for the Government economists, conspicuously including the Council of Economic Advisers, their faces are getting longer and longer.

Far from sharing the President's confidence that the economic curve is flattening out, they are frankly worried about a sharper downturn. One factor that is causing much worry is the clear possibility of some big, confidence-destroying receiverships, especially in the railroad industry. Another such factor is the prospect that the unemployment total will surge upward toward 6 million, again tending to destroy confidence, when the college year ends in June.

For all these reasons, although the White House and Treasury still quite plainly do not want a tax cut, sentiment is growing stronger by the day. The President himself has indicated that a tax cut is the best economic stimulant, if any stimulant must be given. Thus he will find it very hard to fight the drift if a sudden business upturn does not unexpectedly rescue him.

Meanwhile, unhappily, the stimulant is also losing effectiveness. For as Dr. Burns has said, a tax cut "is only a good device to fight a mild recession while confidence is still strong."

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, last week the Commerce Department reported that unemployment as of mid-April on a seasonally adjusted basis rose to the highest level in the postwar period—7.5 percent of the working force.

And the Wall Street Journal of May 5 adds to the discouraging economic indicators by reporting that its quarterly survey, based on early financial statements for the first quarter of 1958, reveals that corporate profits dropped 35 percent from a year ago. In the 1953-54 recession the deepest year-to-year decline for any quarter was only 10 percent. And the Wall Street Journal states:

Earnings seem likely to show little or no improvement in the current quarter.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that a tabulation comparing corporate profits for first quarters of 1957 and 1958, broken down by industry, as reported by the Wall Street Journal, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the tabulation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### FIRST QUARTER PROFITS OF 552 COMPANIES DOWN 35 PERCENT FROM LIKE 1957 PERIOD

The column below shows earnings reported for the first quarter of 1958 and those for the like quarter of 1957 with percentage changes by groups. Where individual company reports cover 3-month periods other than calendar quarters, the nearest comparable periods have been used.

	Number	1st quarter 1958	1st quarter 1957	Change from year ago
Aircraftmakers.....	16	\$27,059,000	\$30,577,000	Off 11.5 percent.
Airlines.....	6	1,664,000	3,799,000	Off 56.2 percent.
Autos and equipment.....	24	215,167,000	448,581,000	Off 52.0 percent.
Building materials.....	28	52,278,000	82,223,000	Off 36.4 percent.
Chemicals.....	25	85,561,000	129,359,000	Off 33.8 percent.
Distillers.....	6	20,551,000	22,874,000	Off 10.1 percent.
Drug manufacturers.....	15	59,123,000	58,265,000	Up 1.5 percent.
Electrical equipment.....	11	68,538,000	87,876,000	Off 22.0 percent.
Farm equipment.....	7	10,466,000	27,188,000	Off 61.5 percent.
Finance companies.....	9	22,652,000	22,019,000	Up 0.1 percent.
Floor coverings.....	4	3,104,000	5,155,000	Off 39.8 percent.
Food products.....	20	47,750,000	46,544,000	Up 2.6 percent.
Mining and metals.....	20	60,423,000	117,010,000	Off 48.4 percent.
Movies and movie theaters.....	4	2,845,000	3,164,000	Off 10.1 percent.
Office equipment.....	9	29,702,000	29,225,000	Up 1.6 percent.
Petroleum products.....	23	523,176,000	770,584,000	Off 32.1 percent.
Printing and publishing.....	7	4,144,000	5,198,000	Off 20.3 percent.
Pulp and paper.....	19	33,499,000	44,359,000	Off 24.5 percent.
Radio and television.....	5	4,210,000	6,966,000	Off 39.6 percent.
Railway equipment.....	12	14,560,000	20,870,000	Off 30.2 percent.
Rubber and rubber goods.....	7	24,247,000	36,430,000	Off 33.4 percent.
Steel manufacturers.....	26	123,154,000	295,768,000	Off 58.4 percent.
Textiles.....	13	5,292,000	7,525,000	Off 29.7 percent.
Tobacco companies.....	12	47,439,000	36,046,000	Up 31.6 percent.
Tools and machinery.....	24	22,716,000	38,488,000	Off 41.0 percent.
Other industrials.....	114	150,085,000	195,645,000	Off 23.3 percent.
Total, industrials.....	466	1,659,405,000	2,572,338,000	Off 35.5 percent.
Railroads.....	40	32,124,000	146,794,000	Off 78.1 percent.
Utilities.....	40	180,724,000	162,703,000	Up 11.1 percent.
Grand total, companies.....	552	1,872,253,000	2,881,835,000	Off 35.0 percent.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the New York Times reports that its latest business activity index for the week ended April 26 fell to 175.5 from 176.9 in the preceding week. This is the lowest figure since the holiday week ended January 4 of this year, and the second lowest weekly figure since September 4, 1954.

I ask unanimous consent that the New York Times Economic Indicators of May 3, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### Economic indicators, week ended May 3, 1958

	Last week	Prior week	1957
Commodity index.....	84.2	84.1	88.5
Money in circulation.....	\$30,518,000,000	\$30,617,000,000	\$39,499,000,000
Commercial-industrial-agricultural loans.....	\$30,252,000,000	\$30,662,000,000	\$31,349,000,000
Steel operating rate (percent).....	147.9	47.1	287.0
Steel production (tons).....	1,293,000	1,270,000	2,226,000
Motor vehicle production.....	97,668	74,868	143,848
Daily oil production (barrels).....	6,288,385	6,250,535	7,536,665
Freight car loadings.....	533,724	534,475	690,789
Electric power output, kilowatt-hours.....	11,206,000,000	11,107,000,000	11,310,000,000
Business failures.....	329	342	263

#### MONTHLY COMPARISONS

	April <sup>1</sup>	Prior month	1957
Employed.....	62,907,000	62,311,000	64,261,000
Unemployed.....	5,120,000	5,198,000	2,690,000
March <sup>2</sup>			
Consumer Price Index.....	123.3	122.3	118.9
Industrial production.....	128	130	145
Personal income.....	\$341,400,000,000	\$341,700,000,000	\$320,300,000,000
Construction contracts.....	\$2,721,228,000	\$1,344,900,000	\$3,077,997,000
Manufacturers inventories.....	\$52,100,000,000	\$52,500,000,000	\$53,300,000,000
February <sup>3</sup>			
Money supply.....	\$132,900,000,000	\$132,100,000,000	\$134,500,000,000
Imports.....	\$950,000,000	\$1,095,300,000	\$993,000,000
Exports.....	\$1,344,900,000	\$1,510,900,000	\$1,611,000,000

<sup>1</sup> Estimated.  
<sup>2</sup> Not comparable because of lower capacity.  
<sup>3</sup> Figures shown are subject to revision by source.

NOTE.—Statistics for commercial-industrial-agricultural loans, steel, oil, electric power, and business failures are for the preceding week and latest available.

SOURCE.—Commodity index and Consumer Price Index, based on 1947-49=100, are compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Industrial production is Federal Reserve Board's adjusted index of 1947-49=100. Manufacturers' inventories and personal income, at annual rate, are reported by the Department of Commerce. Construction contracts are reported by the F. W. Dodge Corp. Imports and exports are compiled by the Foreign Trade Division of the Department of Commerce. Money supply is total currency outside banks and demand deposits adjusted as reported by Federal Reserve Board. Business failures compiled by Dun & Bradstreet, Inc.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, on April 29, the Commerce Department announced that unemployment as of mid-April totaled 5,120,000 which, seasonally adjusted, amounts to 7.5 percent of the working force, the highest percentage for any month since before World War II, except for one that was distorted by a coal strike.

This is but one more of a long series of indications that the present recession is becoming more and more serious while the administration sits back with its wait-and-see attitude.

I also invite attention to the hearings which are being held this week by the Joint Economic Subcommittee on Fiscal Policy in which a number of leading economists are testifying that our economy is still declining and that a prompt tax cut is needed.

I ask unanimous consent that a report on the hearings from the Journal of Commerce of April 29 headed "Business Termed Still Slipping" be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### ECONOMISTS FOR MORE UNITED STATES STIMULANTS—BUSINESS TERMED STILL SLIPPING

WASHINGTON.—Seven out of eight well-known private economists who appeared before the Congressional Joint Economic Committee agreed that the bottom of the recession has not yet been reached.

And 6 out of the 8 called for further Government action—in the form of either tax cuts or increased spending, or both—to turn the economy around.

#### STILL DECLINING

The panel of witnesses who appeared before the joint committee's fiscal policy subcommittee was unanimous in agreeing that the April statistics, when published, will show a further decline in business activity from the March level.

Gloomiest view of the long-run outlook was taken by Prof. V. Lewis Bassie of the University of Illinois, who said that prompt action by the Government would give the country "just a chance" to avert a serious further downturn later this year. "I do not think it is a very good chance," he said, "but it is a chance worth taking."

Most optimistic among the eight was William Butler, vice president of Chase-Manhattan Bank, who said he believed that April will prove to be the low point.

Mr. Butler, along with Martin Gainsbrugh of the National Industrial Conference Board, was against application of further Government stimulants at this time.

The panelists brushed aside a suggestion from subcommittee chairman PAUL DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois, that purely seasonal increases in economic activity during the months immediately ahead might lull the Government and Congress into a dangerous do-nothing approach to the recession.

#### CAUTION URGED

Several expressed caution however, about interpretations of economic statistics in the months just ahead.

Housing economist Robinson Newcomb warned that an upturn in housing starts might merely be a result of building postponements during snowy February and March and added that increased highway expenditures, too, may be merely reflecting technical factors.

Nat Goldfinger of the AFL-CIO noted that employment should show a seasonal rise of more than 1 million in each of the next 2 months and that, therefore, any increase less

than that should be a cause for pessimism rather than optimism.

#### PLANT OUTLAYS OFF

Mr. Gainsbrugh revealed that the conference board's survey of manufacturers' appropriations for capital spending will probably show a further decline when all the first quarter figures are in.

"The arithmetic of first quarter appropriations thus suggests the sobering possibility of a drop in manufacturers' capital goods spending which may continue at least into early 1959," he said.

Mr. Gainsbrugh urged tax changes—"special incentives relative to depreciation or to research and development"—but appeared by no means certain that such tax benefits would actually prove helpful.

"With a more favorable tax environment, perhaps investments spending could be stepped up," he said. Tax incentives "might speed up the shift from increasing physical capacity to further emphasis on modernization and cost saving."

Myron S. Silbert, vice president of Federated Department Stores, told the subcommittee that in the absence of any upturn—"which we cannot see at present"—total retail sales this year will run 3 to 4 percent behind last year with an even greater percentage downturn during July and August.

He noted that the normal growth in such sales from year to year is 3 to 4 percent.

#### SHOCKING FAILURE

The strongest attack on administration actions to meet the recession came from Prof. Paul A. Samuelson of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who said there has been a rather shocking failure on the part of the Government to recognize the seriousness of the situation.

Challenged by the ranking Republican on the subcommittee, Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS of Missouri, to explain this political attack, Professor Samuelson said that he believed that most academic economists have been shocked at official Government pronouncements on the recession. The March unemployment figures, when seasonally adjusted, were quite terrible, he said, despite administration statements to the contrary.

In other economic developments:

Senator HOMER CAPEHART, Republican of Indiana, proposed legislation allowing a speedup in depreciation on capital investments made during the next 18 months. Senator CAPEHART's bill would reduce by one-half, the time in which investments made during the coming 18-month period could be fully depreciated.

President David J. McDonald of the United Steelworkers called on the steel industry to lower prices as a stimulus to the economy.

AFL-CIO President George Meany forecast that unemployment will reach nearly to 6 million by June unless the administration goes in for more stimulation than it has so far.

#### FEARS DEPRESSION

Mr. Meany, after a meeting of the AFL-CIO general board, said the Nation is sliding into a depression.

The board issued a statement saying neither the Republican administration nor the Democratic Congress is living up to its responsibilities to halt the recession.

The board, made up of leaders of all AFL-CIO unions, said the Federal Government is bound, under the 1946 Employment Act to promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power.

Yet, it said: "Little has been done. As a result, the Nation is threatened with a depression. Employment, production, and purchasing power have dropped month after month since the recession started last summer."

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, it should be noted that construction con-

tract awards in March fell 12 percent from a year ago, and the cumulative total of contracts in the first quarter of this year shows a decline of 11 percent from a year ago.

I ask unanimous consent that an article reporting this drop in construction from the Wall Street Journal of April 30 be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### MARCH BUILDING AWARDS FELL 12 PERCENT, FOURTH DROP IN ROW FROM 1957 RATE—ALL CATEGORIES DECLINED—BUT HOUSING SHOWED SMALLEST DIP IN DOLLAR VOLUME

NEW YORK.—Construction activity measured by F. W. Dodge Corp. contract awards fell 12 percent to \$2,721,228,000 in March. It was the fourth consecutive monthly decline from levels of a year ago.

All major categories of construction declined, although housing showed the smallest drop in dollar volume. Continuation of higher rates of apartment and multifamily dwellings boosted the number of dwelling units slightly above the level of March last year.

The March results brought the cumulative total of contracts in the first quarter to \$8,721,767,000, a decline of 11 percent from a year ago.

Thomas S. Holden, Dodge chairman, said bad weather last winter "has had some effect on contract awards but we don't know how much." He said award volume in the last 4 months was a mild dip and consistent with a recession economy though not alarming.

Mr. Holden said there are indications of a step-up in highway and housing construction and "I will be surprised if there is no upward trend in total awards in April and May."

Nonresidential construction fell 11 percent to \$967,102,000 in March from the 1957 month. This category also showed the sharpest drop in the first quarter of 1958, declining 13 percent to \$2,466,106,000. Much of the decline was accounted for by continuing and substantial decreases in manufacturing buildings, which fell 46 percent in the quarter and 38 percent in March. Commercial buildings also contributed to the drop, declining 11 percent in the quarter and 18 percent in March. Included in commercial buildings are stores and office buildings.

Housing units put under contract in the quarter fell 5 percent to 207,111, although dollar volume of the work fell 8 percent to \$2,567,689,000. In March, residential contracts fell 3 percent to \$1,070,556,000 despite a nearly 30 percent increase in the value of multi-family houses. This increase, however, raised the number of dwelling units in March contracts to 85,218, or 1 percent above March 1957.

The March housing performance was well above the preceding month on a year-to-year basis, the Dodge figures showed. In February, housing fell 17 percent in dollar volume and 14 percent in units from a year earlier.

Heavy engineering projects lagged 22 percent behind March 1957, and fell 12 percent to \$1,687,063,000 in the first quarter. A Dodge official said the major decline in this group was pipeline and railroad construction work. Street and highway work, however, also declined slightly in the quarter and in March.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, in a recent issue of the Washington Post and Times Herald there was published an excellent editorial calling for an immediate across-the-board cut in income taxes. In urging this step, the Post makes it clear that it does not consider it a cureall for the recession, but feels



that it is medicine of the right sort, and the patient is ailing.

I have for many weeks been among those urging a tax cut as a necessary measure to boost consumer spending, which has been declining for so many months.

In urging a tax cut, the Washington Post warns that such a step must not be allowed to serve as an excuse for shirking other national and Free-World responsibilities. Here is what the Post states:

The aim must be to do all of these things: to support a higher rate of governmental spending domestically, to maintain and expand programs abroad, and to give the economy the stimulus it needs to resume its growth.

Mr. President, I ask just how much bad news on the state of the economy is required before this administration comes to realize that it cannot continue to sit idly by and wait and wait and wait? Unemployment this month went to a new high—7.5 percent—the highest level since before World War II. Production continues to drop, the gross national product to fall, manufacturers' sales and orders to slip, income to decline, and investments to drop, but still the administration says we must wait and see.

The time is long since past when we can afford to hold back. The entire resources of our country must be put to work to bring a halt to this tragic recession.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### PENALTIES FOR INTERFERENCE WITH UTILITY LINES, PANAMA CANAL ZONE

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 3604) to amend section 831 of title 5 of the Canal Zone Code to make it a felony to injure or destroy works, property, or material of communication, power, lighting, control, or signal lines, stations, or systems, and for other purposes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an explanation of the bill be incorporated in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the explanation was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The United States Criminal Code makes it a felony to willfully or maliciously injure or interfere with any communications line operated by the United States. This provision is geographically applicable to the Canal Zone but there is doubt whether it applies to offenses involving communications owned and operated by the Panama Canal Company in view of that Company's separate corporate legal status and the policy of the courts to construe criminal statutes strictly. The first objective of the bill, then, is to

protect the public utility installations of the Panama Canal Company.

Moreover, the United States Code provision that is limited to offenses involving communications facilities is not broad enough to afford all of the coverage desirable for the Canal Zone. Equally important are the protection and safeguarding of power, lighting, control, and signal lines, stations and systems. A second objective of the bill is to extend to installations of these types the penal law now applicable only to willful or malicious interference with communications facilities.

Offenses of the type to which this bill is directed must now be prosecuted as misdemeanors under Canal Zone Code sections relating to petit larceny or malicious injury to property, telegraph, or telephone lines. The maximum punishment for these misdemeanors is 30 days imprisonment or a \$100 fine or both. Although grand larceny may result in imprisonment for up to 10 years, this offense involves theft of property having a value of \$50 or more. Thefts not involving this amount nevertheless may result in serious damage to or interference with Government facilities.

The extension and broadening of the existing law against willful or malicious interference with public utility installations in the Canal Zone would also be applicable to offenses involving privately owned and operated facilities of the types dealt with in the bill. These private facilities are limited in number and kind but the committee was informed that they are vital to the governmental agencies performing essential functions in the Canal Zone and for that reason the statute would apply equally to offenses involving such private facilities.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to amendment. If there be no amendment to be proposed, the question is on the third reading and passage of the bill.

The bill was ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

#### URGENT DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATIONS, 1958

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of Calendar No. 1548, House bill 12326, which is the urgent deficiency appropriation bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title for the information of the Senate.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H. R. 12326) making urgent deficiency appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1958, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Appropriations, with amendments.

#### THE ADMINISTRATION'S SO-CALLED VOLUNTARY OIL IMPORT PROGRAM—DODGING IMPORT QUOTAS AND TAXES

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, there have been numerous examples in recent weeks of how the President's so-called voluntary oil import program is not working. Residents of Texas and other Southwestern States have been hit hardest by the flood of excessive oil im-

ports, and several times I have urged the administration to correct this critical problem.

In recent weeks the administration, loaded with representatives of the big oil importers, have insisted that the so-called voluntary control program is working. The major importers are lining their pockets with hundreds of millions of dollars a year in excess profits from the cheap oil they have brought in, while those concerned with domestic production, from the worker up to the property owner, are paying the price of these excessive imports.

Tens of thousands of people—most of them families of oil workers—are finding the going rough under the 8-day monthly oil production allowable in Texas. The reason for the alltime low production in Texas is heavy oil imports under a so-called voluntary import program which is a sham and a cheat on the American people.

These are strong words, but I shall illustrate why they are accurate words and why I am justified in saying that this program is a sham and a cheat on the American people.

The so-called voluntary oil import program is a limitation solely upon the importation of crude oil, not upon products. How does the program work? Take the case of the Gulf Oil Corp. Under the import program, its quota is more than 10 percent of the total national import program. One would think that a quota so large would be adequate; but the Gulf Oil Corp. has found a way to import even more petroleum than allowed under its quota.

I read from the first page of the March 10, 1958, newsletter of the Oil and Gas Journal, as follows:

An import development worth watching is Gulf's plans to bring in unfinished gasoline from Kuwait.

Gulf is importing about 266,000 barrels of this product in March, plans to step this up to 12,000 barrels daily in April, and 25,000 barrels daily in May. The product is coming from a new Gulf processing plant in Kuwait.

Internal Revenue has ruled the unfinished gasoline will pay import duty of only one-fourth cent a gallon, rather than 1¼ cents imposed on gasoline.

This is the way the "gimmick" works. It works only by reason of the fact that we have a Government which is in conflict with itself.

Under the Voluntary Imports Program, this product is considered the same as gasoline. The Voluntary Imports Program applies only to crude oil.

What happens when the question comes before the collector of customs? In 1955 a private ruling was obtained from the Bureau of Customs, to the effect that unfinished gasoline is subject to the crude-oil import tax—not the gasoline import tax. Rulings by Government bureaus have the force of law and should be public—not private. Some imports are called gasoline for purposes of avoiding the import quotas on crude oil, and the very same imports are called crude oil for purposes of paying much lower import taxes. Inconsistency is indefensible, but the fact that this is a private or secret ruling given in a letter

to one company constitutes a dangerous threat to our system of Government. Ours is a Government which believes in public decisions—not decisions made in secret.

I have received from the Treasury Department, Bureau of Customs, a letter dated May 6, 1958, which we have been able to obtain only with the greatest difficulty. The Bureau gave us a partial copy of the ruling with respect to the Gulf Oil Corp., but it would not write into the letter the name of the company which received the preferential and duplicitous treatment from the Government of the United States.

What does it amount to? Gulf now imports approximately 22,000 barrels unfinished gasoline a day. The tax differential on that quantity amounts to \$9,240 daily, or about \$3,300,000 a year, which the taxpayers of America are being fleeced out of by the ruling from the Bureau of Customs, which is in conflict with the ruling of the Voluntary Imports Program Administrator, Captain Carson.

This product is not both fish and fowl. It is either crude oil, and subject to the import quotas, or it is gasoline, and should be subject to the tax of 1¼ cents a gallon now placed on gasoline.

The 22,000 barrels daily importation is only the beginning. It was pointed out in the newsletter in the Oil and Gas Journal of March 10, 1958, that this is only the beginning.

The 22,000 barrels of gasoline now being brought in daily—and it is planned to bring in 25,000 barrels daily before the end of May—means the equivalent of more than 50,000 barrels of crude oil. Consider what 50,000 barrels of crude oil would mean to the Southwestern States—not only to my own State of Texas, but Kansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, New Mexico and other oil-producing areas.

The Gulf Corp. can break any competitors. It can break all the independent oil producers by bringing in unlimited quantities of oil from its processing plant in Kuwait.

I have obtained finally a letter from Mr. D. B. Strubinger, Acting Commissioner of Customs, dated May 6, 1958. I read from the letter:

In response to your request there are quoted below pertinent portions of the Bureau's letter of June 13, 1955, file No. 418.114, pertaining to the classification of certain petroleum products. This information is being furnished with the understanding that it will be used for official purposes only.

I am reading, now, from the secret ruling in favor of the company which received the favorable ruling. The Department will not state to whom the favorable ruling was given, but the Oil and Gas Journal, in its newsletter, tells who got the favorable ruling.

Reference is made to your letter . . . relative to the classification and dutiable status of certain distillates or liquid derivatives of petroleum to be imported from Venezuela and Kuwait.

It has been reported that from time to time there are produced from the crude petroleum processed in the topping units located in Venezuela and Kuwait distillates which are not salable as finished products.

The intention is to import these liquid derivatives of petroleum.

The statement has been made that the chief use of these materials is not gasoline or other motor fuel and that the principal reason therefor is the low research octane number. Each of the imported products, it has been reported, would require, and would undergo, further processing after importation, or blending with other materials, in order to convert them into gasoline or other motor fuel. The processing has been indicated as redistillation, stabilization, and reforming.

In other words, it is just a little topping or reforming operation, as it is called, in order to get gasoline into the country at the rate of one-fourth cent a gallon, instead of 1¼ cents a gallon.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the entire letter be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks. It is from the Bureau of Customs and is dated May 6, 1958.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,  
BUREAU OF CUSTOMS,  
Washington, May 6, 1958.

Hon. RALPH YARBOROUGH,  
United States Senate,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: In response to your request there are quoted below pertinent portions of the Bureau's letter of June 13, 1955, file No. 418.114, pertaining to the classification of certain petroleum products. This information is being furnished with the understanding that it will be used for official purposes only:

"Reference is made to your letter . . . relative to the classification and dutiable status of certain 'distillates' or 'liquid derivatives' of petroleum to be imported from Venezuela and Kuwait . . ."

"It has been reported that from time to time there are produced from the crude petroleum processed in the topping units located in Venezuela and Kuwait distillates which are not salable as finished products. The intention is to import these liquid derivatives of petroleum.

"The statement has been made that the chief use of these materials is not gasoline or other motor fuel and that the principal reason therefor is the low research octane number. Each of the imported products, it has been reported, would require, and would undergo further processing after importation or blending with other materials, in order to convert them into gasoline or other motor fuel. The processing has been indicated as redistillation, stabilization, and reforming.

"On the basis of a study of the properties of gasoline or other motor fuels being marketed in the United States at present, the conclusion has been reached by you that any material having an octane number by the research method (ASTM D908) of less than 65 is not generally usable in the United States as motor fuel. Reference was made to Bureau of Mines Report on Investigations 5041, entitled 'National Motor-Gasoline Survey, Summer 1953.'

"The questions are whether the products in question are entitled to entry free of duty under paragraph 1733, Tariff Act of 1930, as distillates, not specially provided for, obtained from petroleum (including gasoline), and whether such products are subject to import tax under the provisions of section 4521, Internal Revenue Code of 1954, as 'Gasoline and other motor fuel,' at the reduced rate of 1¼ cents per gallon, or as other liquid derivatives of crude petroleum

dutiable at the reduced rate of one-fourth cent per gallon.

"In the court case cited by you, *California Oil Company v. United States* (C. D. 1442), the product in question had been described on the invoices as 'Blending Gasoline.' The court in that case held that the term 'motor fuel' as used in section 3422, Internal Revenue Code, was a designation by use and that the evidence amply established that it was not classifiable as 'motor fuel.' With respect to the term 'gasoline' in that same section of the Internal Revenue Code, the court indicated it was of the opinion that the legislative intent was, 'to confine or restrict the tax imposed upon 'gasoline' only to motor fuel gasoline, i. e., gasoline used in motor fuel; in effect making it a designation by use.'

"It has been noted that the Bureau of Mines Report of Investigations 5041, 'National Motor-Gasoline Survey Summer 1953,' shows from the surveys made in various areas that the minimum octane number by the research method (ASTM D908) of 'motor-gasoline' sold was 76.3.

"The Bureau is of the opinion that the 'Crude Kuwait Export Distillate,' 'Crude Venezuela Gasoline Blending Stock,' and 'Crude Venezuela Naphtha Cracking Stock' are classifiable free of duty under paragraph 1733, Tariff Act of 1930, as distillates, not specially provided for, obtained from petroleum. On the basis of the decision of the court in C. D. 1442 and the evidence of record indicating that the chief use in the United States of the products in question is not for motor fuel, it is also the opinion of the Bureau that these products, having an octane number by the research method (ASTM D908) of less than 65.0, are subject to import tax at the reduced rate of one-fourth cent per gallon under section 4521, Internal Revenue Code of 1954, as other liquid derivatives of crude petroleum, except lubricating oil and gasoline or other motor fuel.

"In order to insure that the merchandise will be so classified at each port at which it may be entered, this decision is being circulated to all customs collectors, appraisers, and comptrollers through the Customs Information Exchange."

Very truly yours,

D. B. STRUBINGER,  
Acting Commissioner of Customs.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. I merely wish to point out, in connection with the letter, that the quoted part is taken from a letter to an unnamed oil company, which the Bureau declines to name, but which the Oil and Gas Journal identifies as Gulf Oil.

Under this strange two-headed ruling of the Government, the people who suffer are the taxpayers, and the producers of oil in America. In short, everyone suffers except the company which benefits from this hydra-headed ruling.

Mr. President, I call for a complete investigation of this oil import question by an appropriate committee of the Senate. I also urge at this time passage of my bill to raise the import prices on oil and on gasoline imported into this country. The bill I introduced some weeks ago provides for a duty of 84 cents a barrel on crude oil. That bill provides for a tariff of 2 cents a gallon on refined gasoline, and in that way it would apply fairly and equally across the board. It would not benefit a company to get one of those fish or fowl rulings, under which one bureau would call it crude oil and another would call it gasoline, even though it is the same product.



As I pointed out previously, the tariff would not stop the importation of foreign oil. It would not be a prohibitive tariff. We would not try to use it as a gimmick to completely stop the importation of foreign oil. There certainly should be, however, some recompense to our Nation for the fleets that we put on the high seas which protect these companies, and they ought to be willing to bear something for the protection they receive from the American flag.

Whether my bill to apply a fair tax on the oil receives favorable consideration or not, Mr. President, our Government owes to every citizen the duty of honest dealing. The Government asks certain requirements of business, which business must meet. Certainly the Government ought to operate in the open.

The Government owes an obligation to open and above-board dealing with its citizens and its taxpayers. It owes an obligation to pull these secret, most-favored company rulings out of the dark recesses of the bureau drawers in which they are hidden, and to let the American people see them. Let us have some fair dealings on the oil imports.

Woodrow Wilson once pleaded for open covenants openly arrived at in dealing with foreign nations. It is even more important that there be open covenants openly arrived at when bureaus and quasi-judicial agencies and various administrative agencies promulgate rules which have an effect on the life of the American people. All rulings should be out in the open.

Mr. President, I repeat my request that the matter be investigated by the appropriate committee of the Senate, to determine which governmental agency is in error, and whether one governmental agency knows what the other one is doing; whether the right hand knows what the left hand is doing. Let us tell Mr. Carson what the Collector of Customs is doing, and let us tell the Collector of Customs what Mr. Carson is doing. Let us have a government for all the people, administered alike for everyone.

These rulings are public laws, not private laws of a bureau. It is not a private deal between the Bureau of Customs and an oil company. All the American people are entitled to know what the situation is. All the American people are entitled to the information, and certainly it should not be kept secret in a letter. When I finally obtained this information from the Bureau of Customs in the form of a letter, the letter said, "This information is being furnished with the understanding that it will be used for official purposes only."

I am using it for official purposes, Mr. President; I am asking for an investigation of this inconsistent private decision making.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

CIV—520

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that on today, May 7, 1958, he presented to the President of the United States the following enrolled bills and joint resolution:

- S. 1062. An act for the relief of Maud Clara Wahl;
- S. 1578. An act for the relief of Hovhannes H. Haidostian;
- S. 1943. An act for the relief of Norma Josephine Hodges Dowd;
- S. 2166. An act for the relief of John J. Griffin;
- S. 3050. An act to increase the equipment maintenance allowance for rural carriers and for other purposes; and
- S. J. Res. 168. Joint resolution authorizing the President to issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to commemorate with the appropriate ceremonies the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of the State of Minnesota into the Union.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate adjourn until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, May 8, 1958, at 12 o'clock meridian.

#### NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate May 7, 1958:

Arthur S. Flemming, of Ohio, to be Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

##### IN THE REGULAR AIR FORCE

The following-named persons for appointment as permanent professors of the United States Air Force Academy, under the provisions of section 9333 (b), title 10, United States Code:

- Col. Peter R. Moody, 8884A.
- Col. William T. Woodyard, 4827A.

The following-named persons for appointment in the Regular Air Force, in the grades indicated, with dates of rank to be determined by the Secretary of the Air Force, under the provisions of title II, Public Law 737, 84th Congress (Armed Forces Regular Officer Augmentation Act of 1956), with a view to designation, under section 8067 of title 10, United States Code, to perform the duties indicated:

To be lieutenant colonel, USAF (Judge Advocate)

Robert R. Renfro, AO308939.

To be majors, USAF (Judge Advocate)

Charles L. Bauer III, AO1010343.  
George G. Weston, AO377540.

To be majors, USAF (chaplain)

Frank H. Noll, AO649253.  
Martin J. Stein, AO443949.

To be majors, USAF (Medical Service)

James E. Ewing, AO1543141.  
Charles J. Stefk, AO2048497.  
Stanley B. Westort, AO2049336.

To be captain, USAF (chaplain)

Samuel G. Powell, AO2255903.

To be captain, USAF (Medical Service)

Robert E. Lindner, AO2213731.

To be first lieutenant, USAF (Medical Service)

Dominic C. Scolaro, AO3002314.

The following persons for appointment in the Regular Air Force, in the grades indicated, under section 8291 of title 10, United States Code, as modified by section 1 of the act of April 30, 1956, chapter 223 (70 Stat. 119), with a view to designation, under section 8067, of title 10, United States Code, to perform the duties indicated, and with dates of rank to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Air Force:

To be captain, United States Air Force (Medical)

Paul F. Nugent, Jr., AO3041873.

To be captains, United States Air Force (Dental)

Robert H. Gilliam, AO3043769.  
Joseph E. Maybury, AO2261609.  
Harold E. Schutt, AO779237.  
William J. Takacs, AO3043048.

To be first lieutenants, United States Air Force (Medical)

Elmer C. Carlson, AO3078135.  
William R. Cowan, AO3078208.  
John R. Eason, AO3075033.  
George M. Dahnke, AO3078050.  
Arthur N. Gabriel, AO3088521.  
James E. Huston, AO2248453.  
Tracy L. Kobs  
Richard N. Lucas, AO3075231.  
Amedeo L. Mariorenzi, AO3076100.  
Robert V. O'Toole, Jr., AO3074981.  
Herschel R. Phelps, Jr., AO3075229.  
Allen D. Unvert, AO3074991.

To be first lieutenants, United States Air Force (Dental)

Robert Aronovitz	Karl H. Koenig
William C. Binzer	Donald B. Larson
Raymond T. Bond,	Douglas M. Levy
AO3078503	Edward K. Lew
John E. Carey	James E. Nadeau
Dante A. DeAngelo	Fernando A. Oliver
Jacques A. deLorimier	Howard A. Oser
Robert M. DuBois	James E. Richardson
Joseph S. Ellison	John S. Rushton
Llewellyn T. Flippen	Antonio M. Sanchez,
Rodman R. Goltry	AO3020985
Ben Harris	Harold J. Schaff
Leonard G. Jewson	Richard P. Westin

The following-named persons for appointment in the Regular Air Force, in the grades indicated, with dates of rank to be determined by the Secretary of the Air Force, under the provisions of section 8291, title 10, United States Code, with a view to designation for the performance of duty as indicated, under the provisions of section 8067, title 10, United States Code:

To be captains, United States Air Force (Nurse)

Josephine V. Collings, AN762424.  
Eileen Farrell, AN2214354.  
Claire M. Garrecht, AN762338.

To be first lieutenants, United States Air Force (Nurse)

Helen Bruno, AN2214521.  
Lilith J. Daniels, AN901836.  
Margaret R. McGregor, AN2243841.  
Dorothy R. Novotny, AN2243332.

To be second lieutenant, United States Air Force (Nurse)

Helen E. Hause, AN3075623.

The following-named persons for appointment in the Regular Air Force, in the grades indicated, with dates of rank to be determined by the Secretary of the Air Force, under the provisions of title II, Public Law 737, 84th Congress (Armed Forces Regular Officer Augmentation Act of 1956):

To be majors

Fay G. Adams, AO774451.  
Sterling R. Alford, AO256075.  
Arthur E. Allen, AO718207.

Carmon M. Anderson, AO547959.  
 William C. Anderson, AO178840.  
 Gustav R. Apal, AO795333.  
 Donald L. Barrett, AO771883.  
 Rodney R. Barto, AO671257.  
 John R. Bean, AO826854.  
 Joseph W. Bell, AO672749.  
 Roland L. Bell, AO860898.  
 Beasley W. Bennett, AO814224.  
 Karl Y. Benson, Jr., AO433451.  
 James L. Blackburn, AO664499.  
 John H. Blakelock, AO546157.  
 Frank A. Blase, AO827148.  
 Joseph C. Bogert, AO353342.  
 Stanley J. Boren, AO2056220.  
 Alan D. Briggs, AO815064.  
 George J. Busher, AO1702969.  
 Edgar M. Byers, Jr., AO870085.  
 William L. Byrom, AO586568.  
 Charles G. Campbell, AO421037.  
 Tilmon B. Cantrell, AO64217.  
 Eugene E. Carroll, AO722226.  
 Charles D. Centers, AO869394.  
 James S. Cherry, AO722557.  
 Raymond M. Christy, AO795910.  
 Leo J. Clark, AO586000.  
 Wallace C. Cline, AO429604.  
 Ellwood E. Collins, AO733533.  
 William H. Cooper, AO720445.  
 Robert A. Corrigan, AO401576.  
 Harold G. Cowan, AO735751.  
 David M. Crabtree, Jr., AO287848.  
 Harold L. Crispi, AO760794.  
 Charles R. Croner, AO737011.  
 Henry Dana, AO749831.  
 Charles H. Davis, AO1699303.  
 Sidney R. Davis, AO1994585.  
 Charles R. Dawson, AO718572.  
 Samuel P. Denmark, AO801674.  
 Joe D. Denson, AO673331.  
 Francis H. Dolan, AO771343.  
 Carroll H. Donnell, AO870419.  
 Ed Dotherow, AO682017.  
 Richard W. Dunham, AO825807.  
 Guy B. Dunn, Jr., AO718589.  
 Edward A. Dvorak, AO719836.  
 Charlie C. Eby, AO586062.  
 Walter E. Echelberger, AO586063.  
 Don F. Fair, AO2043125.  
 Roy L. Ferguson, Jr., AO822032.  
 James C. Fitzpatrick, Jr., AO857844.  
 James B. M. Fowle, AO756533.  
 Frederick W. Fowler, AO814283.  
 Leo G. Fradenburg, AO789987.  
 Andrew W. Freeborn, AO721926.  
 Wilson S. Freeland, Jr., AO799001.  
 Jack W. Gabus, AO434740.  
 Owen F. Gent, AO571766.  
 Clarence R. Glasebrook, AO708892.  
 William H. Grabowski, AO869803.  
 Edgar B. Gravette, AO432130.  
 John A. Green, AO870070.  
 Paul E. Grondin, AO718292.  
 Roger J. Groseclose, AO772349.  
 Brian S. Gunderson, AO886230.  
 Benjamin W. Hansen, AO776293.  
 Charles G. Hart, AO722242.  
 Henry C. Howard, AO869902.  
 Ralph C. Hutto, Jr., AO572116.  
 Joe M. Jackson, AO803014.  
 Lyle L. Jewell, AO830470.  
 Raymond E. Johnson, AO826987.  
 Glenn W. Jones, AO733657.  
 Austin A. Julian, Jr., AO716162.  
 John P. Kelly, AO649366.  
 Marion C. Kelly, AO720721.  
 John W. Kreitz, AO827009.  
 Milford C. Kronshage, AO774687.  
 Winston E. Larson, AO880577.  
 Carlton L. Lee, AO432634.  
 Joseph W. Lentine, AO515157.  
 Edward J. Lodell, AO561529.  
 Earl L. Lupton, Jr., AO768149.  
 Charles W. Marshall, AO827873.  
 Ralph E. Martin, AO769883.  
 Robert C. Marx, AO719209.  
 Wallace G. Matthews, AO433879.  
 Gilbert E. Mayeux, AO59246.  
 William J. McGinty, AO2045085.  
 Vincent H. McGovern, AO825930.  
 Joseph M. McPhie, AO776849.  
 Joseph A. Mentecki, AO825671.

James W. Miller, AO715093.  
 Armand L. Monteverde, AO481199.  
 Albert L. Morgan, Jr., AO1105036.  
 Delmer L. Morgan, AO771491.  
 Allan L. Morrison, AO721840.  
 Alfred M. Neal, AO774734.  
 William S. Neighbors, AO549024.  
 Joseph W. Newby, AO870019.  
 Edward P. Noordyk, AO805964.  
 William M. Norton, Jr., AO389790.  
 James E. Ogle, AO549225.  
 Wilks E. Patterson, AO807780.  
 Ernest Perrez, AO723672.  
 Ralph L. Peters, AO1702897.  
 Fred A. Pierce, Jr., AO666813.  
 Frank J. Pietryka, AO582245.  
 Clair W. Potter, AO815757.  
 John V. Powers, AO575938.  
 James V. Prewett, AO775119.  
 Harold L. Price, AO437222.  
 Owen E. Radcliff, AO716242.  
 Charles S. Rathbun, AO545618.  
 William L. Ross, AO872738.  
 Bruce W. Rowlett, AO803469.  
 Richard S. Russell, AO792310.  
 Paul R. Ryland, AO719515.  
 Joseph C. Secino, AO812157.  
 James H. Seely, AO771551.  
 Jack Sides, AO763011.  
 Vernon O. Snead, AO874464.  
 William G. Sproull, AO775172.  
 Harold A. Strack, AO814433.  
 Irwin R. Stuhler, AO688157.  
 Jesse F. Swan, AO870588.  
 Paul H. V. Swanson, AO441042.  
 Eloy H. Trujillo, AO1702957.  
 Jimmemy M. Tumbleson, AO813088.  
 Otto Wagner, Jr., AO719479.  
 Gilmer E. Walker, Jr., AO396494.  
 John R. Walker, AO720970.  
 William F. Weaver, AO585328.  
 James G. White, AO430005.  
 Robert D. Williams, AO827109.  
 Frank W. Wilson, AO579684.  
 R. M. Winn, AO663114.  
 John L. Wolfe, AO564664.  
 Peter P. Zwarych, AO827338.

#### To be captains

Charles R. Abel, AO1905026.  
 Joseph J. Agosta, AO1905339.  
 Mario A. Alfano, AO1910818.  
 Arthur J. Alley, AO1860091.  
 Clifford Allison, Jr., AO842656.  
 Laurence L. Allred, AO2089059.  
 Frank B. Amado, Jr., AO2031975.  
 Lyle D. Antrobus, AO2221713.  
 George W. Bailey, AO2074313.  
 Marlon H. Baker, AO1912348.  
 Rodman W. Barnes, AO1907639.  
 William R. Barrett, AO774471.  
 Thomas C. Bass, AO840698.  
 Thomas J. Beardslee, AO1849910.  
 William H. Bennink, AO2066622.  
 Wallace S. Berg, AO1910829.  
 David H. Blakley, AO1863171.  
 Billy F. Blankenship, AO1910831.  
 Albert B. Blankinship, AO1903344.  
 Victor H. Bolado, AO1903826.  
 Thomas W. Boles, AO2091020.  
 Marvin A. Borgeson, AO1540448.  
 Edmond J. Borkowski, AO1850199.  
 Eugene C. Borowski, AO2221714.  
 Robert S. Bounds, AO1857447.  
 Clifford R. Bowen, AO1905783.  
 Howard L. Bowman, AO2221652.  
 Vernal L. Bracken, AO2015597.  
 Kenneth W. Breeding, AO943215.  
 Jack N. Brown, AO1850145.  
 John D. Brown, AO2085667.  
 Max A. Buettgenbach, AO186416.  
 Theodore W. Buhler, AO1855552.  
 Donald J. Burch, AO1866095.  
 George Burgess, AO2230698.  
 Robert L. Burns, AO943593.  
 Raymond A. Burri, AO938094.  
 Harry L. Bush, AO2221599.  
 Jack Bushling, AO1862924.  
 Henry C. Bussell, AO943377.  
 Robert C. Butts, AO1852905.  
 Gustave A. Canon, AO1912353.  
 Robert J. Capstraw, AO1855122.  
 Richard R. Caraher, AO2064748.  
 Thomas J. M. Cardwell, AO1846658.  
 William A. Carell, AO1859506.  
 Howard F. Carlson, AO2071116.  
 John H. Chapman, AO2099534.  
 James R. Clance, AO1910844.  
 Donald M. Clelland, AO2215009.  
 Allen R. Click, AO942009.  
 Jack G. Coblentz, AO2221770.  
 Kriebel N. Collins, AO2073483.  
 Laurence B. Compton, AO787121.  
 Kenneth H. Conley, AO946398.  
 John M. Connolly, Jr., AO1858925.  
 Charles B. Copas, AO1910849.  
 Daniel G. Corcoran, AO2221663.  
 Dominick J. Corea, AO1848080.  
 Paul P. Correll, AO208886.  
 Ernest P. Couture, AO2094995.  
 Gordon E. Cowan, AO1854288.  
 Dayton C. Cramer, AO940687.  
 George R. Crane, AO2081002.  
 Solon R. Crouch, AO839357.  
 Enoch Crump, AO942072.  
 Robert C. Culp, AO2068957.  
 Arthur E. Darlington, AO1848963.  
 Benjamin W. Davies, Jr., AO1866147.  
 John E. Davis, AO2221605.  
 David H. Deans, AO1860080.  
 Francis J. Deuschle, AO1903504.  
 Arthur F. Diehl, Jr., AO946119.  
 Donald S. Dodge, AO2071453.  
 Harry B. Doolittle, AO1857236.  
 Bobby J. Dunagan, AO2221667.  
 John H. Duncan, Jr., AO2090005.  
 Norman E. Duquette, AO2221717.  
 Lawrence H. Duval, Jr., AO2221668.  
 Gerald J. Dye, AO1905206.  
 Clifford A. Eggleston, AO2221669.  
 Henry A. Eglerd, AO1851690.  
 Walter Elfein, Jr., AO 847042.  
 Robert C. Elliott, AO2089854.  
 Stewart E. Elliott, AO1910861.  
 James C. Engle, AO1853845.  
 Henry E. Erwin, Jr., AO2091928.  
 Travis R. Etheridge, AO2221718.  
 Douglas C. Evans, Sr., AO787130.  
 Quintin H. Evans, AO938268.  
 William E. Fagan, AO2064150.  
 Robert H. Farley, AO763133.  
 Leroy Faulkner, AO1857701.  
 Lawrence R. Fierro, AO942397.  
 Julian A. Fincher, AO1851109.  
 Delbert L. Fisk, Jr., AO784321.  
 Marvin L. Fluit, AO838531.  
 George A. Fox, AO770625.  
 Robert J. Frisch, AO829841.  
 Hubert K. Funseth, AO1852686.  
 Bill J. Garrett, AO1907644.  
 Robert M. Garrison, AO942626.  
 Edward C. Gatz, AO943109.  
 John J. Gaudion, AO853540.  
 Lee R. Gaynor, AO1852805.  
 Bryan E. Giesler, AO2221583.  
 John B. Gipson, AO1864405.  
 Carl R. Gipson, AO1912337.  
 William J. Gleason, AO2214863.  
 Donald T. Glenn, AO2075864.  
 James E. Graham, AO2081958.  
 Vernon F. Greene, AO1847545.  
 William I. Greener, Jr., AO722843.  
 William A. Gribble, AO939557.  
 Herman R. Griese, AO2089755.  
 Hays F. Griffin, AO1912355.  
 William C. Griffith, AO810359.  
 Edward J. Guider, AO842026.  
 Harold H. Haas, AO1863004.  
 William W. Hall, AO774138.  
 Robert M. Hammann, AO761240.  
 Henry L. Hammond, AO1849486.  
 Jim E. Hammons, AO1859510.  
 Royal M. Hanning, AO1856157.  
 Edward R. Harris, AO1851686.  
 Gilbert A. Hart, AO1912356.  
 Millard C. Hartley, Jr., AO1858931.  
 James H. Hartline, AO1907294.  
 Edwin J. Hatzenbuehler, Jr., AO1858990.  
 David J. Hay, AO2221614.  
 Jack R. Hay, AO1907531.  
 James W. Head, AO1907329.  
 James W. Heasman, AO2094013.  
 William M. Henderson, AO702044.  
 Buster A. Hickie, AO1903879.



John J. Hill, AO1849342.  
 Stephen D. Hillard, AO2101798.  
 Francis J. Hoffman, Jr., AO1851937.  
 Jack F. Hogan, AO1702879.  
 Clarence H. Hoggard, AO2221724.  
 James C. Holler, Jr., AO941948.  
 Frank J. Hollingshead, AO2214745.  
 Arnold S. Hooks, Jr., AO1856668.  
 Howard C. Horton, AO941626.  
 Vincent Huebinger, AO1856162.  
 Edward C. Huffman, AO1856397.  
 Eric W. Hutchison, AO722089.  
 Charles D. James, AO2214855.  
 Bruce D. Jennings, Jr., AO2087168.  
 Rudolph Joganich, AO1910892.  
 Richard E. Johnson, AO2221585.  
 William J. Johnson, AO776665.  
 Paul J. Johnston, AO2069030.  
 Hubert K. Jones, Jr., AO1903947.  
 Richard E. Jones, AO941034.  
 Calvin J. Kadous, AO1907612.  
 John F. Kalb, Jr., AO1854536.  
 Lawson L. Kamerman, AO947828.  
 Govind S. Karki, AO1860468.  
 Robert F. Keables, AO1910895.  
 Russell F. Kelly, AO2215134.  
 Bertha W. Kenly, AO1910896.  
 Albert E. Kern II, AO1853429.  
 Clarence E. Kerr, AO938735.  
 Clifford B. Kiah, AO788213.  
 Charles J. Killelea, AO1905650.  
 Frank H. King, AO1559207.  
 LeRoy J. King, AO1859129.  
 Ronald R. King, AO1852786.  
 Dale C. Kingsbury, Jr., AO945451.  
 Floyd W. Kirkland, AO1540527.  
 Ramon L. Koenig, AO2221730.  
 Richard F. Konaszewski, AO941576.  
 Eugene J. Kranske, AO1851828.  
 John M. Kresl, AO2221561.  
 Cyril R. LaFrancis, AO2098541.  
 Norman L. Lair, AO931584.  
 Donald L. Langhorne, AO1863873.  
 George P. Laviole, AO2029233.  
 Wendell B. Lawrence, AO1863494.  
 Loren J. Layman, AO786136.  
 Norman S. Leas, AO1910908.  
 Anthony Leman, AO937516.  
 William P. Lemoine, Jr., AO1907564.  
 William E. Lewis, AO1851013.  
 William H. Lewis, AO740476.  
 Richard C. Lillygren, AO1904175.  
 Jesse P. Lindo, Jr., AO2221618.  
 Robert C. Lorenzen, AO929518.  
 Harry C. Long, AO940283.  
 Herbert N. Long, AO1862680.  
 Thomas R. Loosmore, AO1903415.  
 Clyde J. Lucas, AO1910911.  
 John H. Ludwig, AO1858998.  
 John M. MacCallum, Jr., AO1849956.  
 Floyd E. McCartie, AO1854857.  
 William M. Mack, AO942683.  
 Ernest Madril, AO2214995.  
 Alford M. Major, Jr., AO814104.  
 John A. March, AO2033161.  
 Carmen A. Marguglio, AO1910914.  
 Frank R. Marshall, Jr., AO714952.  
 Joseph A. Martini, AO2214782.  
 Rawlinson M. Massey, AO1854350.  
 James R. Maxwell, AO1866419.  
 William O. Mayfield, AO1849715.  
 Donald B. McBride, AO1849653.  
 Keith E. McClain, AO1857821.  
 Lewis E. McDonald, AO2057718.  
 Douglas C. McDougal, AO1848311.  
 Carl W. McKenzie, AO939152.  
 Eugene A. McKenzie, AO940578.  
 Bob McLucas, AO816905.  
 James A. Mellin, AO1905662.  
 Delvin H. Meyer, AO1848342.  
 John H. Miller, AO1852922.  
 William H. Montgomery, AO781019.  
 Eldon W. Morris, AO1849505.  
 Emerson E. Morris, AO1910920.  
 Robert L. Murdy, AO2214685.  
 Miles G. Murphy, AO2095681.  
 John V. Murray, AO1854853.  
 Fred B. Myers, AO1846669.  
 Aram J. Nahabedian, AO822062.  
 Robert A. Newhall, AO1849229.  
 Phillip A. Norton, AO2221738.  
 William E. Nunnery, AO939626.

Robert L. Okuly, AO940560.  
 Wayne H. Omo, AO823448.  
 Paul D. Orwoll, AO2215029.  
 Jack L. Parber, AO940729.  
 Grover P. Parker, AO769920.  
 LeRoy S. Paul, AO1910930.  
 John Paydo, Jr., AO1853811.  
 William F. Perry, AO1852042.  
 Joseph J. Phillips, AO1847509.  
 Howard J. Pierson, AO1865541.  
 Robert R. Pijanowski, AO1852989.  
 Delbert L. Pilcher, AO2098747.  
 George F. Pinney, AO1905304.  
 Joseph J. Piltnick, AO1905668.  
 Bill E. Polasek, Jr., AO1904618.  
 Charles F. Porter, AO1910934.  
 Roy Potochnik, AO2067969.  
 Theodore W. Quandt, AO2221696.  
 Donald P. Raymond, AO692888.  
 Ervin F. Rees, AO942782.  
 Sylvester G. Renner, Jr., AO1910937.  
 Walter A. Renelt, AO2221697.  
 John F. Rhemann, AO1859009.  
 Russell H. Rice, AO1858899.  
 John W. Richards, AO1903787.  
 Kenneth M. Richardson, AO2221698.  
 Roger M. Rickey, AO2069122.  
 Donald S. Robb, AO2088961.  
 William E. Robertson, AO945065.  
 Walter A. Robinson, AO1856046.  
 Richard R. Robison, AO1904037.  
 William A. Rogers, AO1854768.  
 Clarence R. Roper, AO1848805.  
 Donald M. Rowland, AO1858693.  
 James P. Rozar, AO1856995.  
 Daniel W. Russell, AO1850505.  
 James B. Sanders, AO1848642.  
 Menno R. Saunders, AO1866100.  
 George R. Savage, AO2221629.  
 Harry J. Savoy, AO1851093.  
 George W. Schatzman, Jr., AO1910940.  
 Ernest A. Scheerer, AO2033225.  
 Charles A. Schindler, AO940491.  
 Otto F. Schwanke, Jr., AO786187.  
 Leon C. Seale, Jr., AO2221751.  
 Edward G. Sedivec, Jr., AO942834.  
 Curtis S. Seebaldt, AO727270.  
 Charles E. Sells, Jr., AO1903913.  
 Jimmy K. Self, AO1855802.  
 Robert L. Sellers, AO1855773.  
 Harris Sentir, AO944199.  
 James J. Shannon, Jr., AO1848632.  
 Robert E. Shrider, Jr., AO1864042.  
 Glenn R. Sloan, AO1865840.  
 Claris A. Smith, Jr., AO929903.  
 Eugene A. Smith, AO1859120.  
 Robert W. Smith, AO2092960.  
 Ronald W. Smith, AO558527.  
 Sammy E. Smith, AO1853129.  
 Nile A. Sorenson, AO1857576.  
 Melburn C. Spaulding, AO938627.  
 Kent C. Spears, Jr., AO2082151.  
 Jess F. Stanley, AO1910947.  
 Jack M. Steger, AO1856357.  
 Ted Steig, AO1865546.  
 Robert W. Steiner, AO1910948.  
 Richard H. Stevens, AO2084448.  
 Donald W. Stewart, Jr., AO2217606.  
 David L. Stiles, AO1855910.  
 Warren K. Stobaugh, AO1855417.  
 Hervey S. Stockman, AO691195.  
 Michael J. Sverha, AO2221704.  
 Mack D. Sweeney, Jr., AO1864558.  
 James W. Sweezy, AO876421.  
 Robert E. Tarrant, AO1866249.  
 Clyde T. Taylor, AO1855636.  
 Victor D. Taylor, AO769199.  
 Clifford J. Teegarden, AO1905965.  
 Will R. Thomas, Jr., AO2204716.  
 Leslie G. Tingle, AO1904638.  
 Robert E. Townley, AO944231.  
 William F. Truitt, AO932023.  
 Myron D. Ulrich, AO2221640.  
 Wayne D. Vogt, AO1910958.  
 Donald C. Wallace, AO954740.  
 James L. Walls, AO2221642.  
 Calvin C. Warren, AO1910961.  
 James Warrington, AO945516.  
 Michael G. Wassil, AO2056143.  
 Chester R. Wassom, AO1857107.  
 Ervin R. Watson, AO1696787.

Harold B. Watson, AO2221707.  
 Jerry F. Watson, AO935960.  
 Harvey C. Weaver, AO2221763.  
 Russell E. Weaver, Jr., AO1850861.  
 Eldon R. Weehler, AO2100218.  
 George L. Weiss, AO1858763.  
 Jack H. Welsch, AO2081666.  
 Charles O. Weltz, AO1860130.  
 Glenn H. West, AO784815.  
 Hudson T. West, AO1907568.  
 Jackson R. Whisnant, AO1912347.  
 Benjamin L. White, AO1858948.  
 Ernest J. White, AO1905652.  
 Kenneth J. White, AO2029968.  
 Stanley R. White, AO1859018.  
 Donald W. Whittingham, AO785542.  
 Albert L. Wile, AO1858958.  
 Jackson B. Williams, Jr., AO1910963.  
 James R. Williams, AO1853169.  
 John E. Williams, AO1848781.  
 Thomas C. Wilson, AO1857357.  
 William E. Wilson, Jr., AO1910966.  
 Warren J. Winters, AO1858520.  
 Victor H. Wirtz, AO944739.  
 Joseph H. Wise, Jr., AO2217482.  
 Leon K. Wolfe, Jr., AO1854170.  
 Robert M. Woliver, AO781489.  
 Robert S. Wood, AO2214885.  
 Robert F. Woods, AO2221711.  
 Glenn R. Wyrick, AO782097.  
 Charles Yoast, AO945106.  
 George J. Young, Jr., AO935787.  
 Louis D. Yuhas, AO2015155.  
 Charles J. Zemple, AO945155.  
 Nicholas F. Zunic, Jr., AO1853953.

#### To be first lieutenants

James W. Allbritton, AO2206571.  
 Norma A. Archer, AL3008659.  
 John F. Beran, AO3036344.  
 Daten O. Bourn, AO3038895.  
 Eric J. Brister, AO2211311.  
 Eugene B. Brock, AO3008667.  
 Ronald G. Burke, AO2209660.  
 Eugene M. Bushong, AO2237644.  
 Keith M. Cain, AO3039683.  
 Stephen C. Callahan, AO3011098.  
 Jerry L. Chipman, AO2211735.  
 James R. Clark, AO3039443.  
 Arlie R. Conner, AO2211209.  
 John T. Cornelius, AO3012796.  
 Walter D. Cooke, AO3009166.  
 John C. Cowan, AO3039371.  
 Henry E. Crampton III, AO3039372.  
 Gary D. Crawford, AO3039444.  
 Gordon I. Dahl, AO2211455.  
 Richard M. Dalton, AO2211428.  
 William L. Daugherty, AO2210668.  
 John O. Dellamorte, AO3038986.  
 John J. Denice, AO3030637.  
 Henry J. Dickman, Jr., AO2207755.  
 William H. E. Doole, AO2210574.  
 Stanley Doscher, AO3008679.  
 John J. Doyle, AO2210858.  
 John J. Duffy, Jr., AO2209798.  
 Holbrook B. Dupont, AO3038647.  
 Norman R. Edgar, AO3039449.  
 Donald E. Elliott, AO3008680.  
 Arthur D. Enty, AO2209800.  
 Eldon C. Ermel, AO2211356.  
 James L. Flood, AO3040081.  
 Daniel J. Foley, Jr., AO3040082.  
 Paul K. Foley, AO3039531.  
 George C. Forstner, AO2211013.  
 William H. Fox, AO2210113.  
 Wayne M. Fullmer, AO3039309.  
 Elmer Funderburk, Jr., AO2210704.  
 Ernest G. Gilbert, AO3008685.  
 Wallace D. Girling, AO3038583.  
 James A. Gravette, AO2206503.  
 Harold D. Gray, AO2211265.  
 Edwin L. Greenwood, AO2211351.  
 Harold L. Groves, AO3039264.  
 John W. Hale, AO3038762.  
 Jimmie R. Hall, AO2211070.  
 Hugh D. Hallidy, AO3038871.  
 Charles D. Ham, AO1905479.  
 James R. Harding, AO2211433.  
 Norman J. Harold, AO3039207.  
 Jackson D. Harper, AO3020883.  
 Basil V. Harrington, AO3038824.  
 Donald F. Helsel, AO3038963.

Bobby L. Henning, AO3039459.  
 Robert A. Hewston, AO2210006.  
 Benjamin F. Hill, Jr., AO3008699.  
 James O. Hivner, AO3038998.  
 William A. Hobgood, AO3039699.  
 Newton H. Hodgson, Jr., AO3038714.  
 David A. Hunt, AO3039585.  
 Thomas P. Hunt, AO2210420.  
 David D. Igelman, AO4018053.  
 Raymond F. X. James, Jr., AO2210328.  
 Robert E. Johnson, AO2211581.  
 Simon R. Jones, Jr., AO2211202.  
 LeRoy A. Joos, AO3038833.  
 Dale V. Kapka, AO3008705.  
 James M. Karth, AO3039538.  
 Kenneth L. Kerr, AO3039539.  
 Harold G. Kimball, AO2211984.  
 Carl W. King, AO3032952.  
 Earl R. King, AO2211972.  
 Peter A. Konneker, AO2211051.  
 Edwin J. Labadie, AO2211709.  
 William E. LaBranche, AO3038878.  
 Thomas D. Lambert, AO2209634.  
 Robert D. Larsen, AO2211368.  
 Ronald L. Laughlin, AO2211353.  
 Gerald L. Lawhon, AO3039397.  
 Sterling H. Lee, AO3039541.  
 Donald D. Leffler, AO3038181.  
 William P. Lemmond, Jr., AO2209984.  
 John C. Lewis, AO3039758.  
 Robert C. Lind, AO3032978.  
 Leland K. Lukens, AO3039010.  
 Carl A. Mansperger, Jr., AO2212070.  
 Ronald L. Markey, AO2211266.  
 Wendell H. Massengale, AO2207345.  
 Robert E. Matthew, AO3038880.  
 Dana L. Melroy, AO3033005.  
 Edward P. Merkle, AO3032816.  
 James R. Metcalf, AO2210905.  
 Robert D. Miller, AO3039663.  
 Andrew D. Mitchell, AO2211519.  
 Charles F. Moore, AO2211614.  
 Charles E. Morgan, Jr., AO3030237.  
 Delbert R. Motal, AO3039276.  
 Albert F. Muller, AO2210163.  
 Thell S. Naegle, AO2210939.  
 Robert W. Newcomer, AO3039153.  
 Alva B. O'Brien, AO2210468.  
 Paul R. Oeser, AO2210116.  
 John T. O'Neill, AO3039664.  
 William E. Overacker, AO2211291.  
 Eugene F. Paquette, AO3039605.  
 Richard N. Park, AO3039856.  
 Harry Pawlik, AO2210411.  
 Larry C. Pfeiffer, AO3026676.  
 Orlan T. Phillips, AO3009088.  
 Charles L. Pocock, AO2211304.  
 David L. Porter, AO3031181.  
 Albert A. Ramey, AO3026604.  
 Worthie M. Rauscher, AO3039917.  
 Edward S. Reed, AO3008740.  
 Norman E. Reed, AO3026631.  
 Lloyd Reeder, AO2210255.  
 Joseph W. Reynolds, AO2211305.  
 John D. Ritenour, AO3039096.  
 Clifford K. Roberts, AO2211641.  
 Gilbert A. Robertson, AO2211684.  
 John K. Robinson, AO2210388.  
 Wilbur L. Robinson, AO3008744.  
 Philip C. Rogers, AO2211616.  
 Stuart A. Roosa, AO3039337.  
 William O. Rothlisberger, AO3039479.  
 Arthur Sargent, Jr., AO2210003.  
 Gerald C. Schirmer, AO3039480.  
 Martin R. Scott, AO2209851.  
 John D. Shacklock, AO3039339.  
 Philip J. Sicola, AO3008751.  
 Gordon W. Smith, Jr., AO2210473.  
 Lee E. Smith, AO2211488.  
 John W. Snider, AO3038853.  
 Harry Solomon, AO2210527.  
 Marvin G. Spallina, AO3031305.  
 Marvin E. Speed, AO2210774.  
 Jon G. Speer, AO2209716.  
 Russell K. Sprague, AO3039087.  
 Richard M. Springer, AO2209674.  
 George F. Stewart, AO3032636.  
 Roland J. Stone, AO3038856.  
 Alfred F. Story, AO3039924.  
 George E. Strebeck, AO3039173.  
 Harry F. Strohecker, AO3038195.  
 John C. Sullens, AO2211913.

John E. Swafford, Jr., AO3008762.  
 Dorsey J. Talley, AO3039926.  
 Ralph C. Taylor, AO3038944.  
 Harold J. Thabet, AO2211774.  
 David W. Thomas, AO3039285.  
 Jack E. Thompson, AO3039245.  
 Ray G. Thompson, AO2211238.  
 Raymond E. Thompson, AO2211470.  
 Thurston A. Thompson, AO3008763.  
 William C. Thompson, AO2209951.  
 James V. Thorp, AO3040113.  
 James A. Tillotson, Jr., AO3026487.  
 John R. Tomlinson, AO3039928.  
 Marvin T. Travis, AO3030169.  
 James M. Tsuda, AO3039875.  
 Donald J. Tubbs, AO2211976.  
 Hugh A. Turner, AO3039771.  
 Edward F. Tyndall, AO3038945.  
 Joseph H. Valley, Jr., AO3039355.  
 Robert E. Wallace, Jr., AO3040118.  
 Donald C. Williams, AO3039178.  
 John L. Winkler, AO3039289.  
 Donald K. Winston, AO3008770.  
 Don F. Winters, AO3039092.  
 Ronald E. Wortham, AO2210012.  
 Myron L. Wyman, AO3008771.  
 Jerry L. Yeager, AO2210578.

*Distinguished officer candidate graduates  
to be second lieutenants*

Thomas J. Brennan, Jr., AO3087761.  
 Hermann Haertel, AO3087802.  
 Richard J. Mustico, AO3087834.  
 Russell H. Pentz, AO3087845.  
 Daryl E. Tonini, AO3087881.

The following-named midshipmen, United States Naval Academy, for appointment in the Regular Air Force, in the grade of second lieutenant, effective upon their graduation, under the provisions of section 203 (e) Public Law 737, 84th Congress (Armed Forces Regular Officer Augmentation Act of 1956). Date of rank to be determined by the Secretary of the Air Force:

Richard Charles Abel  
 Jackie Conrad Accountius  
 Keith Eugene Aiken  
 David Crawford Anderson  
 David Phillips Arneson  
 Albert Louis Barbero  
 Robert Bingham Bargar  
 Bruce L. Barnhiser  
 George Thomas Bauer  
 Richard Lee Binford  
 Gerald Arthur Blake  
 Charles Patrick Boyle III  
 John Bruce Bradley  
 Ronald Ellis Brenc  
 Edward Talbot Britton III  
 Harry Way Brown III  
 William Micheal Brown  
 John Robert Bruce  
 James Lawrence Buchanan II  
 Charles Gary Caldwell  
 John Harvey Cameron  
 John Reister Carter, Jr.  
 William Edward Cartwright  
 Donald Lee Carty  
 Ronald James Charrier  
 John Richard Chevalier  
 Robert Elsworth Christensen  
 Roy Emil Clason  
 William Kemp Clements  
 Bert Morse Concklin  
 Charles Albert Conley  
 Stuart Edward Craig  
 John Andrew Cresko, Jr.  
 Phillip Walter Criswell  
 Ricky Reynolds Davidson  
 James Burr Davis  
 John Henry Dean  
 Bernard George Demers  
 Don Lee Desselle  
 John Elias Dickson, Jr.  
 William Edward Diesing, Jr.  
 Pierre Albert Dillman  
 Harold Martin Donahoe, Jr.  
 Robert Eldon Doty, Jr.  
 Robert Holt Evans  
 Richard Leo Farnan  
 Earl Jasper Farney

William George Fohrman  
 Gary Stamler Flora  
 Malcolm Richard Fossett, Jr.  
 Peter George Friedman  
 John Philip Frustace  
 Alfred Francis Gahen, Jr.  
 John Millard Gaither  
 Wayne Douglas Gardner  
 Wilfrid Elzear Gelinis  
 John Louis Gentile  
 Gordon Martin Gerson  
 Thom Beddome Giambattista  
 Michael Angelo Giglio  
 Joel Sutton Gill  
 William Graham Gold  
 William MacArthur Grady  
 John Moore Granville  
 Robert Anthony Green  
 Alfred Thomas Grzybicki  
 Richard Otto Haase  
 James Alton Hagood  
 Howard Lynn Hall  
 Robert Langdon Haltermann  
 Ernest Patrick Hanavan, Jr.  
 John Daniel Haney, Jr.  
 Harry James Hansen III  
 Thomas Jackson Hardy  
 Paul Herbert Harrington, Jr.  
 Donald Walter Harris  
 Francis KeilinoHoponoponi Hiseichi Hasegawa  
 Alan Loren Haynes  
 John Wayne Held  
 George Raymond Hennig  
 Carlos Augusto Hernandez  
 William Clarke Hillsman  
 James Dorset Hocker  
 James Rupley Hoerle  
 George Richard Holdeman  
 Barry Jack Howard  
 Dennis Robert Huff  
 Harry H. Hurst  
 Edward Neal Jackson  
 Henry Keith Jaeger  
 Mark Richard Jensen  
 Richard Edward Keefe  
 Thomas William Keifer  
 Harold Robert Kendall  
 George Edward Kenefick  
 Arthur Gustave Klos  
 Robert Shields Lackey  
 Frederick Williams Laing, Jr.  
 Carl Burt Larsen  
 Glen Dale Lerum  
 Jack Allen Libey  
 Stuart Leland Lustfield  
 Terrence Byrne Magrath  
 Edward John Malais  
 Maurice Harlow Manahan  
 Thomas Roger Manley  
 George Carlisle Mann, Jr.  
 Alex Anthony Martella, Jr.  
 Thomas Patrick Martin  
 John William Mason  
 Jason Francis Mayhew  
 George Roden McAleer, Jr.  
 Thomas Holt McCormick  
 Robert Michael McGugin  
 Paul Curtis McLellan, Jr.  
 John Allan McNamara  
 Charles Medlock, Jr.  
 William John Meisel  
 Phillip Andrew Meurer  
 John Cunningham Miller, Jr.  
 Gary Harold Minar  
 Michael Andrew Moran  
 Wayne Allen Morris  
 Philip Roland Moulton  
 James Benedict Mullady  
 John Francis Nagel  
 Ralph Michael Neely  
 Donald Philip Norkin  
 George Donald Ojalehto  
 Nyal Eugene Palmer  
 Vincent Andrew Panaia  
 James David Paul  
 Roderick John Pejsar  
 Walter Charles Peters, Jr.  
 Charles Orsell Peterson  
 James Lee Pierce  
 Charles Thacher Pinkham  
 William Joseph Prout



Cleveland Lewis Puckette II  
Ernest Leroy Pyle  
Harold Wayne Reed  
James William Reynolds  
Leonard Farnsworth Reynolds  
Arthur Kenneth Ridley  
Victor Merrick Ripley  
Maurice Keith Robinson, Jr.  
Peter Stevan Roder  
Thomas Bell Rosser III  
Shannon Pierce Rowton  
James Hyland Ryan  
Byron Schriver, Jr.  
Albert Phillips Simpson  
William Albert Simpson  
Alvin Venable Skiles III  
Alexander Richard Slafkosky  
George Marlin Sloan  
Richard Leroy Slyder  
Roger Walter Stallkamp  
Francis Harbert Statton  
Walter Frank Strybel  
Joseph Lawrence Sutman, Jr.  
Whitmel Blount Swain  
Samuel Howell Swart, Jr.  
Samuel Anthony Taylor  
Randolph Manchester Teague  
Thomas Theohary  
Russell Albert Thom, Jr.  
Roy Robert Thomas  
Robert Allen Thornton  
Richard Lloyd Tillman  
Don Robert Timmer  
James Charles Tipton  
Lewis Franklin Todd  
Laurence Albert Trudeau  
Michael George Tulley, Jr.  
Russell Elias Vreeland, Jr.  
Clifford Neil Wade, Jr.  
Sinkler Warley, Jr.  
John Ingersoll Washburn  
George LeRoy Watts  
Stephen Wawak, Jr.  
James Gordon Weatherston  
John Thomas Wells, Jr.  
Jean Ray Whittenberg  
Edward Frank Williams  
Robert John Wilson III  
John Herbert Witzmann  
William Arthur Wolff  
Scott Alford Woods  
David Latham Wright  
Wilbur Dorris Wright  
Richard Allan Yoder  
Frank Kenneth Zemlicka  
Daniel Harry Ziegler

The following-named cadets, United States Military Academy, for appointment in the Regular Air Force, in the grade of second lieutenant, effective upon their graduation, under the provisions of section 203 (e), Public Law 737, 84th Congress (Armed Forces Regular Officer Augmentation Act of 1956). Date of rank to be determined by the Secretary of the Air Force:

John Billy Abernathy  
Larry Kenneth Asbury  
James Henry Curtis Ballard  
Robert Thomas Barker  
Walter James Barnes  
Richard Swinney Beyea, Jr.  
William Nourse Bicher  
Henry Edmund Bielinski, Jr.  
James Clarence Bishop, Jr.  
Charles Wilson Bond  
Olen Aubry Brown, Jr.  
William Farnham Brown  
Richard John Buckalew  
Jack Peter Bujaleki  
Charles Pearre Cabell, Jr.  
Bernard Rogers Card  
Sammy Howard Cardwell  
Nicholas Thomas Carlson  
Daniel Edward Carter  
Thomas Francis Cartwright  
James William Chapman II  
Alan Carleton Chase  
Theodore Eugene Childress  
Thomas Hall Claffey  
Kenneth Woodyard Clark II  
Richard Keith Clements

Thomas Arthur Francis Conti  
John Bailey Cook  
James Franklin Corcoran  
Francis Brian Crowley III  
Bruce Bradley Davenport  
Harold Augustus Davenport III  
Thomas Hayden Davies, Jr.  
Charles Hamilton Davis IV  
Arvid Spencer Doucette  
Michael Joseph Dugan  
Jerome Dunn  
William Harrison Dunning  
Gary Gene Durkee  
Robert Francis Durkin  
Donald Raymond Edwards  
Bradfield Fellowes Elliot  
George Edward Ellis  
Leland Gilbert Fay  
John Charles Galen  
Henry Pratt Gardner  
Donald Richard Garrett  
Lee Arthur Gaughan  
Ernest Frank Geipel  
Roger Charles Gietzen  
Robert Lawrence Grete  
Frank Joseph Guenther  
Wayne Donald Hagberg  
Jack Lloyd Halsey  
Raymond Francis Hanson  
Charles Clark Hansult  
Ernest Frederick Hasselbrink  
David Alan Hettinger  
Jerry Noel Hoblitt  
Gross Edwin Jenison  
Daniel Leon Johnson  
Richard Sherwin Johnson  
Michael Stratton Jones  
William John Kelley  
Hugh David Kevin  
Robert Leroy Kirtley  
George Octave Klotzbach  
Josef Conrad Krankel  
John Michael Kubiak  
Ernest Robert Lenart, Jr.  
David William Livingston  
Lawrence Loner  
Edward John Lucel  
William Freble Marshall  
Robert Ignatius McCann  
Donald Joseph McCullough  
Joseph Daniel McElroy  
John Hancock McKillop  
Richard Henry McManigell  
Robert Wolcott Meals, Jr.  
William Christopher Melnik  
Arthur Wilbur Meyer  
Burton Tenney Miller, Jr.  
Charles Wesley Mitchell  
George Bernard Mitchell  
Norman Herbert Monson  
Merwin Lamphrey Morrill  
Robert Lewis Tony Munger  
Charles August Normington  
Robert Eugene Olson  
Richard Duane Osborn  
Walter Mead Patterson III  
Franklin Palmer Phillips  
Glenn Kennon Phillips  
Charles Bernard Porciello  
Richard Reese Price  
Louis Joseph Prime, Jr.  
Jerome Francis Prochaska  
Charles William Profitet  
Robert William Puff  
Phillip Harry Raign  
Robert Edward Regut  
Paul Gordon Rice, Jr.  
George Sadtler Robertson III  
James Lawrence Rossetto  
Gerald Thomas Rudolph  
Paul Gordon Ruud  
James Martin Ryan  
John Frederic Schaefer  
Frederick John Schluter  
John Gaspard Schroeder  
Reginald Frederick Seiler, Jr.  
Dennis Paul Sharon  
Leo Edward Sheehan, Jr.  
Robert Theodore Shellenberger, Jr.  
William Walter Shely, Jr.  
Stanley Allen Slater  
Frank Mathias Smith

Leo Weber Smith II  
Willis Aaron Smith, Jr.  
Terry Dale Snyder  
W. John Soper  
William Scott Stambaugh  
Larry Wendell Sutherland  
Lawrence Robert Tharp  
John Francis Tierney  
Robert Edward Tierney  
Edward Julius Timberlake III  
Stanley Clarence Toney  
Peter Burns Trainor, Jr.  
Clifford Bruce Trott  
David Campbell Turner  
William Keppel Votruba  
James Richard Wade  
Richard Eugene Warner  
Wayne Arthur Weiss  
Donald Joseph Welch  
Harold Jerry Mac Williams  
Francis Milton Wright, Jr.  
Daniel Joseph Yarr  
Peter James Young  
William Maxwell Young

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WEDNESDAY, MAY 7, 1958

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.  
The Chaplain, Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., offered the following prayer:

II Thessalonians 3: 13: *But ye, brethren, be not weary in well doing.*

Eternal God, our Father, help us during this day to appreciate and understand more fully the wonder of Thy grace and goodness.

Thy love and mercy are like the sunshine and the rain, falling on the just and the unjust in impartial benediction.

May we be partners with one another in our quest of the more abundant life and in bringing its blessings to all mankind.

Give us calm and courageous hearts as we strive to build Thy kingdom of truth and righteousness on earth.

Hear us for the sake of our blessed Lord. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. McGown, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate agrees to the amendment of the House to a bill of the Senate of the following title:

S. 3050. An act to increase the equipment maintenance allowance for rural carriers, and for other purposes.

### PRICE SUPPORT FOR THE 1958 AND SUBSEQUENT CROPS OF EXTRA-LONG-STAPLE COTTON

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. GATHINGS].

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill H. R. 11399, relating to price support for the 1958 and subsequent crops of extra-long-staple cotton.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.